

CH
E
OF

ON
OLE

0
1

CO

CHURCH &

A HISTORY

PROFESSOR
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

THE & EMPIRE

OF ESSAYS

OF THE

OF CANTERBURY

The University of Chicago
Libraries



EX LIBRIS

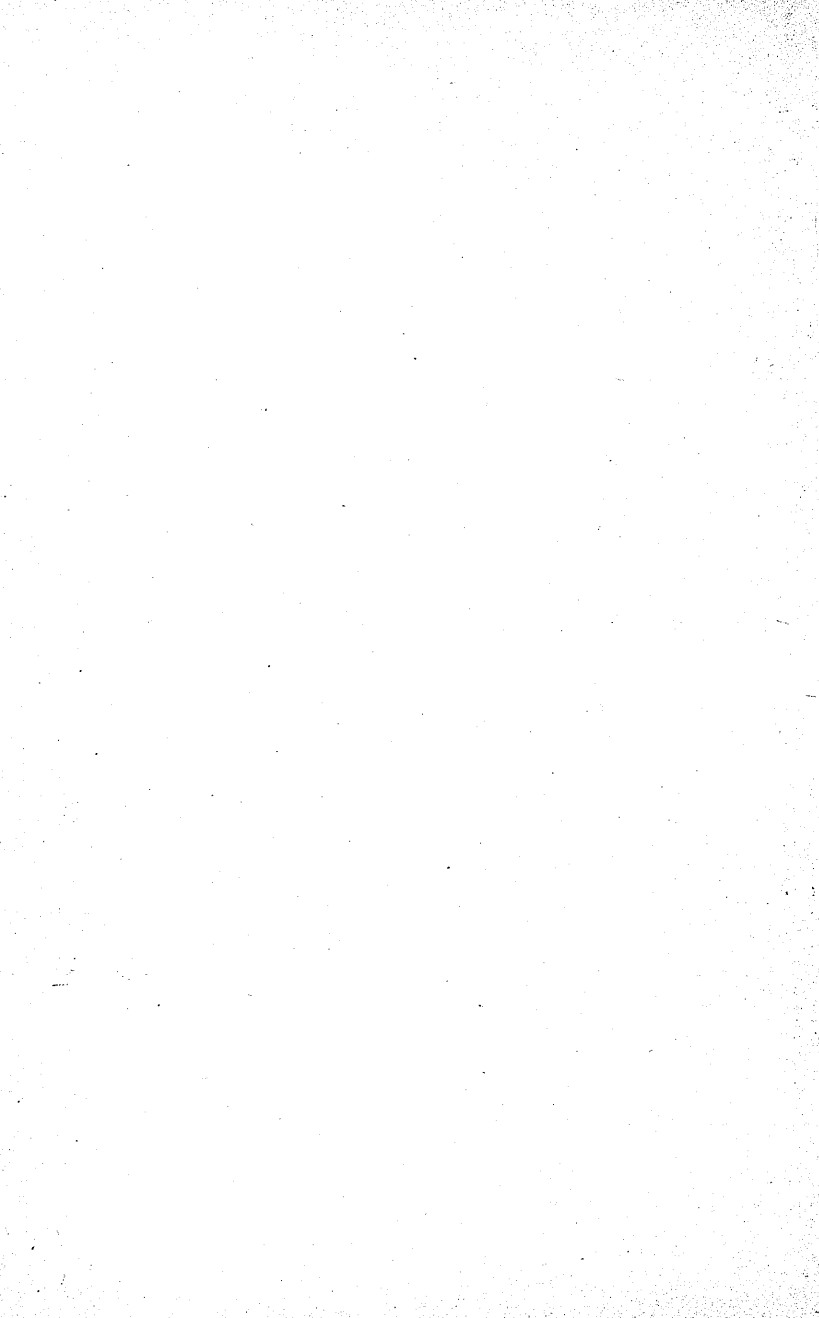


REV. CHARLES D. MARTIN, D.D.





CHURCH AND EMPIRE



CHURCH AND EMPIRE

A SERIES OF ESSAYS ON THE
RESPONSIBILITIES OF EMPIRE

With a Preface by
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

EDITED BY

THE REV. JOHN ELLISON, M.A.

VICAR OF WINDSOR, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO H.M. THE KING

AND

THE REV. G. H. S. WALPOLE, D.D.

RECTOR OF LAMBETH, AND HON. CANON OF SOUTHWARK

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA

1907

All rights reserved

BX 5600

. E 47



Dir

P R E F A C E

BY HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

No thoughtful man who cares about the contemporary work of the Church of England or of the whole Church of Christ can fail, surely, to be interested in this little book. Those of us who try to take a large view of the present requirements of our Church's life, and of our power and opportunity to meet them, are confronted again and again by the question,—What place ought, in the discharge of this duty, to be given to our special obligations as citizens of the British Empire? More than one reply is possible. Some thinkers, not unwise or inexperienced in Christian polity, are apprehensive that by speaking and writing and acting with special thought of our British responsibilities, we are in danger of impairing somewhat the due recognition of the universal call which Our Master makes upon every Christian as such. Others again feel, with an overwhelming intensity of conviction, that one of our most obvious duties in these early years of a new century is to give a Christian meaning to the misused and tortured word "Imperialism,"

v

and to make that meaning grow and glow throughout all the dominions of the King.

This book sets forth, in the words of men who are on every ground entitled to be listened to, the arguments of those who believe profoundly in our primary and distinctive answerableness to God for the British Empire whereof we are citizens. India, Canada, Australasia, South Africa, the West Indies, speak to us here by some of their foremost representative Churchmen, and the case is presented not less cogently by writers whose present workfield lies in England itself. The book will do what such books ought to do—set men thinking. If such thought finds issue in prayer, and prayer in increased earnestness of purpose and action, this gathered testimony will not have been compiled in vain. Very earnestly do I wish God-speed to every such endeavour, undertaken in Our Master's Name.

RANDALL CANTUAR.

LAMBETH, *Easter*, 1907.

CONTENTS

PART I

PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

	PAGE
MISSION WORK IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	3
<i>By the Rev. W. LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College, Oxford.</i>	
THE VOCATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE AND ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY	21
<i>By the Rev. CANON WALPOLE, D.D., Rector of Lambeth, and Hon. Canon of Southwark.</i>	
THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL LIFE	42
<i>By the Rev. JOHN ELLISON, M.A., Vicar of Windsor, and Chaplain in Ordinary to H.M. the King.</i>	

PART II

THE NEED OF ACTION

OUR INDIAN EMPIRE	65
<i>By the Right Rev. G. A. LEFROY, D.D., Bishop of Lahore.</i>	
THE CLAIMS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE ON THE CHURCH, AS SEEN IN BURMA, AND AS MET BY THE CHURCH	86
<i>By the Right Rev. A. M. KNIGHT, D.D., Bishop of Rangoon.</i>	

	PAGE
CANADA (No. I): THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE .	119
<i>By the Rev. L. NORMAN TUCKER, M.A., D.C.L., General Secretary, Missionary Society, Church of England in Canada.</i>	
CANADA (No. II): MOTHER AND DAUGHTER .	136
<i>By the Rev. E. A. WELCH, M.A., Rector of St. James's Church, Toronto.</i>	
AUSTRALIA	152
<i>By the Most Rev. ST. C. DONALDSON, D.D., Archbishop of Brisbane.</i>	
NEW ZEALAND: "AN ILL-CONSTRUCTED QUADRILATERAL"	169
<i>By the Right Rev. M. R. NELIGAN, D.D., Bishop of Auckland, N.Z.</i>	
THE WEST INDIES	192
<i>By the Most Rev. E. NUTTALL, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica and Archbishop of the West Indies, and the Rev. THOMAS PARKER GEORGE.</i>	
SOUTH AFRICA: THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND IMPERIAL IDEALS	216
<i>By the Right Rev. W. T. GAUL, D.D., Bishop of Mashonaland.</i>	

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITORS

THE present volume differs from other collections of Essays by various writers in this, that the contributors have been deprived by the necessities of the case of that mutual consultation which is so helpful in securing an effective result to unity of aim and purpose.

Working as they do in different parts of the Empire, they have had no indication of policy to guide them other than that originally submitted to each by the Editors, which stated that "The object of the proposed volume will be to bring home to the hearts of Christian people in the Colonies, as well as in England, the special claim which the British Empire has upon men of British birth who believe that in God's Providence the Empire exists for the sake of the world, and wish to take their part in meeting the special responsibilities which its existence lays upon the British race."

If therefore any substantial unity is found to underlie the Essays which follow, it will be that higher and more impressive unity which is based upon the sure logic of actual facts. The point which we, as Editors, are concerned to emphasize is the grave need for some general Missionary policy. As things stand now, the forces of English Christianity are working at haphazard very much at the call of various societies, who are again largely influenced by whatever appeal

from heathendom is loudest and most insistent. It may be both unwise and impossible to hope for anything like a concordat such as that which Bishop Selwyn established in the islands of Melanesia, whereby the Church of England occupied certain fields, leaving others to the work of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. But it is surely not impossible for the great Anglican Communion to agree upon some general principles and lines of Missionary work, whereby a sense of proportion may be maintained, a first and second may be observed. It cannot be right that English Churchmen should be left without any guidance, and that they should give their aid not in accordance with any clear notion as to the relative character and claims of the various foreign Dioceses, but with the thought simply of that particular part of the field which has for the moment been brought to their notice by a particular speaker or preacher. At present, special funds, if in the hands of capable Secretaries, have far too large a share in determining the policy of Anglican Missionary work, and we have some comparatively unimportant field receiving a large share of public attention, whilst India, for example, is hopelessly undermanned. No one can read the chapters by Bishop Lefroy and Bishop Knight without feeling the very grave situation with which India is face to face.

Now the Editors feel that the direction of this policy that is called for, has been given by history. It needs not to be discovered, but is plain and open. For the last three hundred years the finger of God has pointed clearly in the direction of what we now

call the Empire, and if men of our race would but bestir themselves to the evangelization of that Empire within the present century, they would be applying themselves to a work which is peculiarly their own, and for which they are more directly responsible than they are for the wider work of the evangelization of the world.

The *aim* of such a policy would be to concentrate attention and power upon the needs and problems of the Empire; and by means of this concentration to rescue for the highest purposes that sentiment of Empire which has never, as yet, been claimed for the noblest ends, and is therefore in danger of being degraded to low and selfish purposes. The Editors believe that at the present time most of the great problems which confront the Empire, both in regard to Colonial and native work, are at heart spiritual problems, and cannot be solved by the State without the co-operation of the Church of Christ. Such problems, for instance, are those, all the world over, which are suggested by the disintegrating effect of Western civilisation upon existing faiths, customs, and systems of thought.

The Editors look forward, therefore, to the twentieth century as a time when a State concerned with the problem of building nations must inevitably find itself in need of the Church of Christ. This little book aims at helping to prepare the Church of England for such a time of opportunity. It is true that the call has never, as yet, been made to the National Church from this Imperial point of view. The State has done little to forward Missionary work within its

own territories, and it is possible that it cannot directly do so; but that does not free the Church from the duty of instructing the nation as to the spiritual character of the problems to which as a nation it is committed. It is at this point that the work of existing Missionary Societies, from the very fact that they are *societies*, would seem to be inadequate to the need. Missionary Societies do not touch the nation as a whole. The very *esprit de corps* which holds together earnest people in a Society, and makes the Missionary Societies so vital and indispensable a factor inside our national life, tends to unfit them for the needed appeal to the nation. It excludes as well as includes. The danger is lest it should exclude from participation in the nation's highest work, those who are unable to adapt themselves to the particular point of view which this or that Society is supposed, rightly or wrongly, to demand from its adherents.

The work of the Societies needs reinforcing. The area from which they draw their support is far too narrow in view of the greatness of the opportunity, and does not expand in proportion to the growing needs. Some means must be found for bringing into action the great and hitherto unused reserve of force, which consists of all those who desire that Great Britain shall be Christian in deed as well as in name, and recognise, however faintly, the responsibilities of Empire. That such a reserve exists in the right-thinking laymen of the country, is the earnest belief of the Editors. It has not yet become conscious of itself, its response to the appeals hitherto made to it has been, it must

be confessed, inadequate; but the question now suggested is whether any Society smaller in range and sympathy than a National Church can ever appeal to the whole nation—and whether the Church itself can be successful in the task until it has learned to recognise, as a necessary condition of its appeal, a national, *i.e.* in the case of Great Britain, an Imperial Policy—which shall concentrate all its efforts upon the area of the British Empire, reinforce the spirit of patriotism, and aim at securing the support of all who care for the higher side of our national life.

Such a policy would have, we believe, inspired authority¹ behind it. It would not mean disloyalty to Christ's command to "make disciples of all the nations." It would be a return to the Pauline conception of the evangelization of an Empire as a definite and well-considered step towards the evangelization of the world. It might be expected to present familiar facts from a new point of view, to create for itself an additional enthusiasm based on the motive of Christian patriotism, and to make its appeal to great bodies of men at present wholly uninterested in, or actually hostile to, the work of the Church abroad as they now understand it.

We shall probably be told that the time has passed for any such change of policy; that however good it may be in theory, the facts are against us, and that we must be content to acquiesce in conceptions of missionary work which, if not absolutely the best, are the best of which the present situation is capable.

¹ See page 8, foll.

Our answer is that we do not press for a revolution. There is no question of changing, but rather of enlarging present conceptions; no question of abandoning the present fields of work, but rather of working them on more comprehensive lines. As a matter of fact, by far the greater part of the work of the Anglican Church falls within the area of the Empire. What therefore is demanded is not so much a change of *area*, as the formation of a plan of campaign that shall keep in view the relative value, *i.e.* the strategic importance of the positions to be taken, and this based not simply on the ground that we have "marching orders" to conquer the whole world, but that we have been allowed to see, in the marvellous history of our race, the contents of the sealed orders, and to know where the attack must first be directed.

God's order is "first the natural, then the spiritual." It was upon a frank respect for the natural that Archbishop Theodore built up our parochial system in England. May it not be that the growth of a similar respect for the position in which so many heathen races stand as wards of the British Crown, may enable our Missionary work to show itself as national rather than sectional, and win for the cause of Missions the sympathy and interest of the whole nation?

It is, then, to the Nation in its largest sense that we address ourselves. We want to send men out not only with a love of Christ and a desire to bring the heathen to His feet, but also with a realisation of the wonderful opportunities that He has given

to the Anglican Church in the disposition of the British Empire, and with the bold assertion that men of British birth are unworthy of the race to which they belong, and of the long history which belongs to them, unless they are setting themselves to the highest of their national tasks—the evangelization of the peoples who form the Empire.

As the basis for such an appeal we hope for a declaration of policy from the coming Lambeth Conference.

So long as it is understood that there is no intention of abandoning existing work outside the Empire, then a formal declaration that any *future* advance in the Church's work shall primarily be along the lines of Empire, and that Imperial responsibilities hold a first place in the Church's regard, can only be for the advantage of the existing Missionary Societies. It would not touch those conceptions of missionary work which add force and life to this or that particular organisation; it might be expected to bring into line with the Societies that great and, as we believe, increasing body of public opinion which looks upon the British Empire as a great "school"¹ for religious as well as social and political training, and recognises a special responsibility for the education of those native races that by Divine Providence have been placed under the tutelage of Great Britain.

Such an assertion is not intended as meaning that no other race but ours has any part in this great task. "If we believe," said Frederick Maurice,

¹ See page 92, foll.

“that our own nation has a divine call, we must believe the same of other nations.” But the teaching of history cannot be ignored; and whatever part other races may have, upon the Anglo-Saxon race lies at present the main part of the burden.

Is it too much to hope that the Lambeth Conference may be led to lighten the burden and help forward the fulfilment of the task, by suggesting principles which may lead to the apportionment of certain spheres of the Mission Field to one or other of the two great divisions of the race there represented, in such a way that the principle of National responsibility may be expressed and asserted. America has her responsibilities, Great Britain has hers. A frank recognition of both by the Conference would save both time and money.

In what practical ways effect can be given to such a principle must be a matter for subsequent discussion. The great thing at the present time is to get the principle asserted in the most formal and authoritative way possible.

For the present it is only necessary for us to add that we shall be glad to correspond with any Churchmen, whether in England, in India, in the Colonies or in the United States of America, who find themselves in general sympathy with the views expressed in this Introduction.

JOHN H. ELLISON, The Vicarage, Windsor,
G. H. S. WALPOLE, The Rectory, Lambeth,
Joint-Editors.

PART I
PRINCIPLES OF ACTION



CHURCH AND EMPIRE

MISSION WORK IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

(ἐνότης πολυπρόσωπος)

By the Rev. W. Lock, D.D., Warden of Keble College,
Oxford.

THE marching orders of the Christian Church were given most explicitly and decisively in the command of the Risen Lord, "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations."¹ It is indeed true that the historical character of this command has been assailed on critical grounds, but the attack cannot be said to have been successful, and in a sense it is quite immaterial whether these actual words were spoken by Our Lord or not; for they are undoubtedly the expression of His mind. The Old Testament is based on the fundamental thought that all the nations were to be blessed in the fortunes of the seed of Abraham; the prophets looked forward to the time when all flesh should see the salvation of God; and the Lord Himself had chosen a society which was to take the place of the

¹ St. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. For a thorough examination of this passage, and a defence of its integrity, cf. Dr. Chase (now Bishop of Ely) in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1905.

Jewish nation, and He had taught that society, in the prayer that He gave them, to look forward to the time when over the whole earth, without any limitations, God's will should be done, as it was already done in Heaven. The Lord's Prayer contains our marching orders implicit in itself. The spirit of that prayer may be well illustrated by an historical analogy. Let us suppose an European monarch in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries deciding to send a band of settlers to colonise a part of America: he sends for their leaders, and tells them that he wants them to reproduce in that far-off country the principles of order, of justice, and religion, to which they have been accustomed in the home country. They undertake the task; they will try to make his name respected there, as it is here: they will try to establish his kingdom with just administration, and with courts of law, as it is established here: they will try to win his new subjects there to give the glad and loyal obedience to his rule, which his subjects here give. Only they plead that they may not be left alone in their task. "Thou, our Sovereign (they urge), wilt be afar off in the home country, but let thy blessing and support be with us in this work: leave us not without adequate supplies; if we forget or transgress thy commands, forgive us, for we ourselves will not be exacting; others will harm us and attack us, but we will temper justice with mercy and forgive them. Do not send us into any peril which is too hard for us to bear; but if difficulties arise—if our enemies press us hard there, if our critics malign us at

*Lord's Prayer
in parallel*

home—do thou be on our side and help and defend us. These things we ask with undoubted assurance that thou wilt grant them, for we know that the whole empire belongs to thee, that thou hast the power to carry out the task to a successful issue, and that all the credit for it will redound to thy honour.” Lift these petitions into a higher plane and you have the Lord’s Prayer; it is the prayer of those whom the King called to Himself, and sent out to establish the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, and it contains hidden in the heart of its petitions the marching orders which make the Church necessarily and of its very essence a Missionary Church. It is the prayer of a Church which has not only an “eternal Gospel” to proclaim to all them that dwell on the earth, but also an universal Kingdom to establish in their midst.

But the marching orders were almost entirely sealed orders; the first two stages in the campaign were indeed laid down in definite terms: “Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and Samaria,”¹ but beyond that everything is left vague; “and unto the uttermost part of the earth,” that is all the direction; but whether the Apostles should go first to the Eastern or to the Western dispersion, whether North or South, whether to city or to village, this is left undefined. The orders are sealed orders, to be opened only when the army has reached the enemy’s country, and even then the general finds himself left free to direct his attack when and where circumstances shall show him that he has the greatest chance of success.

¹ Acts i. 8.

The Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church from age to age will give the power to decide the next step that can best be taken, and to carry it into effect. It would, therefore, be a hampering mistake if we were to take any one method, even the method of the Apostle Paul himself, as an absolute guide for other days than his own. "The uttermost part of the earth," that is our goal: we may not be content until we reach it, even as St. Paul rested not until he reached the extremity of the West; but the route by which our missionaries shall travel, the nation they shall first attempt to evangelise, the method that they shall use, the moment at which they shall move on, can only be decided, as it was decided for him, by the Holy Spirit of God interpreting to our minds the meaning of the history and the circumstances of our own day.

The example of St. Paul is, however, full of suggestive guidance as to the principles of missionary work; and as we study it in the Acts of the Apostles there are at least two principles that emerge into prominence.

(1) He follows the dictates of his own heart, of his natural affection for "kinsmen according to the flesh." "My heart's desire," he writes, "and my supplication to God is for them that they may be saved."¹ As the earlier Apostles had begun their preaching in Jerusalem and Judæa, so St. Paul, after his conversion and his stay in Arabia, returned to his native city, Tarsus, and there spent a period of some ten or twelve years in quiet work which has

¹ Rom. x. 1.

left no mark on history. And when summoned by Barnabas to Antioch, and formally despatched by the Church on his missionary task, the two followed the same instinct: the missionaries go first to the home of the elder leader, Barnabas, and preach in Cyprus; then they pass over to Asia Minor, to the neighbourhood of Paul's home and earlier work; and thenceforward strike out into new and unexplored countries. But here, still and always, the love of their own countrymen leads them first to offer their message in the synagogue; that they regard as a necessary duty. It is only when the Jews judge themselves unworthy of eternal life that they turn unto the Gentiles; and the Epistle to the Romans, written years after this break, shows how no amount of success in the Gentile world could ever appease St. Paul's yearning that his brethren should be saved. Out of that natural affection the Spirit created for him that splendid dream in which he soars beyond all other writers of the New Testament, and pictures to himself the far-off day when all Israel should be saved.

(2) Thus far the Spirit had guided him by making use of the truest of natural affections. As he passed into the Gentile world, this instinct failed him. Still the Spirit failed not; at times its action is only negative: it bars certain routes—"they are forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia," "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not to go into Bithynia"¹—but here the narrative is so meagre that we have nothing to guide us as to the reason of the Spirit's action; more often the action is

¹ Acts xvi. 7.

positive, as when the vision of the man of Macedonia led them to conclude "that God had called us for to preach the Gospel unto them."¹ So with the strong assurance of God's guidance they carry the Gospel from Asia into Europe. No further explanation is given here, but we can scarcely be wrong in assuming that St. Paul, who had been brought up with the sort of pride in the Roman Empire which a young South African whose father had been knighted might feel now in the British Empire, felt that that empire and its organisation would be his best ally in the task that lay before him; for the Roman Empire was the one power which at this time was uniting and civilising the nations of the world. Hence he follows the great line of the Roman roads in his journeys; he establishes his churches in the great town-centres of Greece and Asia Minor; he groups his churches by the Roman provinces; he is on friendly terms with the Roman officials; he teaches his converts to respect the civil government as ordained of God: nothing will serve but that he must see Rome itself, and press on even beyond Rome until he reaches the farthest limit of its empire in Spain. The first at least of those wishes was fulfilled. He came to Rome, and while imprisoned there wrote that great circular Epistle "to the Ephesians," which gives his fullest sketch of the ideal of the Church of Christ, and which (it is perhaps not fanciful to suggest) was partly modelled on the conception of the Roman Empire. For, as that empire had had a long history, as it had sprung from one small town, as it had gradually

¹ Acts xvi. 10.

MISSION WORK IN NEW TESTAMENT 9

launched itself on the world, won its battles, brought nation after nation, under its rule, thrown its privileges open to citizens from all parts of the world, and yet kept its soldiers to defend it from the barbarians on its borders, and as it all centred in one man, the Emperor, the guarantee of peace and equity: so the Christian Church had had a long history; it had been ordained before the foundation of the world, it had been confined for a time to one small nation, but at the right moment all barriers had been broken down, the middle wall of partition was gone, building after building was being added to the Temple, Jew and Gentile alike could share its spiritual franchise; and it too centred in one man, its Ascended King, who gave gifts to His followers, who Himself had won the victory over all foes, and become "our peace," even though there still were principalities and powers lurking round about, still battles which Christians have to wage, clad in the full panoply of God.¹

In all this action in the Gentile world, the Spirit now used as His instrument for St. Paul's guidance a true political instinct. We can at least use St. Paul's example for the inference that, whereas the Christian Church has as its duty to evangelise the whole world, yet each branch of this missionary Church should be guided by the circumstances of its own natural ties and political history in deciding in what particular quarter of the world its own work shall

¹ The writer has in this paragraph made free use of his own article on *Ephesians* in Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," and of "St. Paul, the Master Builder."

lie. The English Church will naturally feel its primary duty to lie to those who share English blood or who have fallen under the rule of the British Empire.

But in drawing this analogy from the Roman Empire as it appeared to St. Paul, there are two qualifying considerations to be borne in mind. In the first place, the Roman Empire appeared to St. Paul universal; it embraced all the nations that lay within his ken. But neither the British Empire nor the Church of England is universal. We have to recognise heartily other empires and other branches of the Church Catholic: we have to leave room for their contribution to humanity, and to respect and welcome gratefully their methods of missionary effort or of the expression of Christian doctrine. "The vulgarity of those judgments," wrote Sir Thomas Browne, "that wrap the Church of God in Strabo's cloak, and restrain it unto Europe seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquered all the world, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. . . . Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from heaven one another." Again, "There is another offence unto Charity, which no author hath ever written of, and few take notice of, and that's the reproach not of whole professions, mysteries, and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious Epithets we miscall each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all. . . . It is as bloody a thought in one way as Nero's was in another; for

by a word we wound a thousand and at one blow assassinate the honour of a nation.”¹ We have not only to avoid such vulgarity and offences against charity; but remembering that “God hath made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,” we ought to be on the look-out for and to be ready to admire excellencies and graces different from our own. This is the teaching of the Bible, for to quote one who has done almost more than any other man to expound the Jewish prophets to our generation, “National religion, according to the Prophets of Israel, is the recognition of God’s hand in the nation’s history; the acceptance of great ethical institutions and personalities as from His hand: the sense of a mission to the world: *the acknowledgment of the Divine calling of other nations*: and sympathy in particular with such as are weak and oppressed.”² Whereas then St. Paul might try to lift the imagination of his converts to conceive of a Church as wide as the Roman Empire, we have to train ours to conceive of one wider than our own.

Again the Roman Empire was but a heathen analogy, drawn from without, whereas the British Empire is internal to Christianity; it is itself an expression of the Christianity which the Church has to guard, and Christians have now not only to teach that the powers that be are ordained of God, but to see to it that they act as powers so ordained. How far this obligation extends will

¹ Sir T. Browne, *Religio Medici*, i. ad fin., ii. ad in.

² G. A. Smith, “Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament,” p. 269.

vary from time to time, and it is for statesmen to decide what the limits are. It may be perfectly right to abstain from all interference in the religious tenets of its subjects, and even to abstain from a public profession of its own faith; but, abstain as much as it may, yet it practically is missionary. Christianity is weighed, judged, condemned or accepted on account of the action alike of Christians in their private lives, and of the State in its official actions, and as it is our duty to enforce a high morality in private life, so it is our duty to insist that the State shall reach a high level of political morality, that it shall uphold an unswerving standard of impartial justice towards all its subjects, a loyal recognition of the rights of all individuals, and a scrupulous observance of all promises made in the moments of conquest; if it swears unto its neighbour, it must not disappoint him, even if it be to its own hindrance.

Let me turn to two parts of the Bible, which will illustrate the indirect importance of life and example in missionary effort.

The book of the New Testament which is most full of the thought of the conversion of the heathen is the first Epistle—"the great Epistle"—of St. Peter. The writer is addressing the Christian Churches scattered through the wide district of Asia Minor. They are suffering, or in imminent danger of suffering, persecution; there is a fiery trial coming upon them; they are liable to suffer as Christians; they are in the midst of a world heathen, immoral, unfriendly, malignant, slandering, and per-

secuting. By drawing out the lessons of the Cross St. Peter strengthens them to endure; but this is not all their duty: they have to be missionaries to the heathen among whom they dwell: they have to follow their Master's example, and draw others to salvation. But how is this to be done? their's is not the task of preaching; it is "without the word" that these heathen may be won. They have to show forth the excellencies of Him who called them out of darkness into His marvellous light, but it is by a high moral life: it is their good works which are to lead the Gentiles to glorify God, their well-doing which is to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: it is the loyal patient obedience of servants which is to win heathen masters, the chaste behaviour of Christian wives which is to gain heathen husbands. In the same way, a generation later, Ignatius writes to the Ephesians: "Pray ye also without ceasing for the rest of mankind (for there is in them a hope of repentance), that they may find God. Therefore permit them *to take lessons at least from your works*. Against their outbursts of wrath be ye meek; against their proud works be ye humble; against their railings set ye your prayers; against their errors be ye steadfast in the faith; against their fierceness be ye gentle."¹ Harnack is too one-sided when he says: "We cannot hesitate to believe that the great mission of Christianity was in reality accomplished by means of informal missionaries. Justin says so quite explicitly. What won him over was the impression made by the

¹ Ch. x., quoted from Bishop Lightfoot's translation.

moral life of Christians in general.”¹ But there is much of truth in the statement. Nor is it less true now than then, that it is the example of a high moral life, whether of celibacy undertaken for the Lord’s sake, or of a married life, chaste, self-restrained, marked by tender respect of husband to wife and wife to husband, and rearing the children in the fear of the Lord, it is the untiring self-sacrifice of good works that wins its way, side by side with the preacher’s word or the Church’s organisation; while without it they are hopelessly hampered and crippled.

The second passage of Holy Scripture is one to which St. Peter’s Epistle itself directs us to look: it is the description of “the suffering servant” of the second part of Isaiah. There we have a portrait of the servant of the Lord who is essentially a missionary: it is too light a task for him only to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; he is given for a light to the Gentiles, to be Jehovah’s salvation unto the ends of the earth: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.² And “judgment” is here a noble word: it is “the equity and civil right which is the result of the true religion of Jehovah”—“religion applied to civil life,” “that pervading of life by the principles of equity and humanity which is the immediate effect of the true religion of Jehovah”—“not only civic righteousness and justice, but these with God behind them.”³ Here is a splendid task for the Lord’s servant;

¹ “Expansion of Christianity,” Eng. Tr., i. p. 460.

² Isa. xlii. 1; xlix. 6.

³ Professor Davidson and G. A. Smith. G. A. Smith, “Isaiah,” ii. p. 299.

but who was the servant to whom the prophet pointed? It seems clear that it was primarily the whole nation of Israel which the prophet hoped to see fulfilling this ideal; but the whole nation was obviously inadequate to the task, and his vision narrows itself to the few, to those who remained true to Jehovah's purposes for the whole: while lastly, as the prophet comes to close quarters with the cost of the task, as he sees the suffering, the self-sacrifice, the intercession for sinners, the death that will be needed, it seems to him that there will be only One who will rise to the height required. The servant nation, the servant remnant has become the One suffering servant on whom the Lord has laid the iniquity of us all. This prophecy found the beginning of its fulfilment in Our Lord Jesus Christ—but only its beginning. No individual can exhaust the scope of that which once contemplated a society for its task; and it has been said lately—and the thought is most illuminating—that as in Isaiah “the conception of the Divine servant narrows down from the whole people to a section of the people, and then” (apparently) “at last to a representative individual: so in the New Testament, the conception of the Divine Servant broadens out from the Representative Individual to the first circle of His followers, and then to the ideal in which the Church shall be co-extensive with the human race.”¹

The Church then is now the Servant of the Lord: as to St. Peter the Christian servant suffering the

¹ Condensed from W. E. Chadwick, “The Social Teaching of St. Paul,” p. 69.

buffeting, reviling, and stripes of his "froward" master was the antitype of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah:¹ as to St. Paul the Christian minister, striving by gentleness, forbearance, and meekness to correct those who opposed the truth, was "the Lord's servant;"² so the whole Church has now the privilege of doing the servant's task. It is for it to carry on the fulfilment of all that was foretold of Him: it has to bring forth Justice and to set it in the earth, breaking no bruised reed and quenching no smoking flax; it has not only to administer justice but to give consolation and enlightenment: to open the eyes of the blind, to sustain with words him that is weary, to bring the prisoners out of the prison-house. It has to bring home to each heart the sense of a personal salvation; and if it sets itself to the task in the spirit of the servant, neither striving nor crying in the streets, but quietly setting itself to its task, listening to the Spirit's guidance, untiring in intercession, and willing to suffer all things to win its aim, then the promises made to Him are made to it: "He shall not fail nor be discouraged. . . . I will hold thy hand and will keep thee: He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied."

Such is our great privilege; but we have to recognise that as Christianity leavens the world, much of its work is done outside the technical functions of the Church. It is the State rather than the Church which expresses that national and civil side of righteousness which was so prominent to Isaiah's mind: the State ministering to the

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 18-24.

² 2 Tim. ii. 24-26.

MISSION WORK IN NEW TESTAMENT 17

physical needs of a famine-stricken district is a real analogue to Our Lord's feeding of the Five Thousand, no less truly, though on a lower plane, than the Church ministering to the spiritual needs of thousands in its Eucharists. This is why we have to see, as far as in us lies, that the State keeps true to the Christian principles of justice and of tenderness: this is why we may be content for a while to trust the effect of a just rule in India, and to accept, as far as it goes, the saying, "There is at any rate one Gospel which the English can preach and practise in India, the Gospel of high political morality, which because it is a complete novelty and new light among Asiatic rulers, should for that reason be the characteristic note of our administration."¹

But the Church has more than this to do; at least within its own organisation it has to show this standard of justice, this respect for the individual, this determination to train him until he can stand on his own feet and govern himself with a true independence that shall never forget its debt to the whole Church: it has to bring him the personal salvation, the personal forgiveness, which shall make each individual a stronger personality to control his own life and to help his neighbour. "The early Church as a social agent worked among the (working) classes not only by means of active benevolence and by procuring employment for the brethren, but also especially because of the fact that in the brotherly fellowship the rich shared the Lord's supper with the poor; the rich man was not ashamed to sit

¹ Sir A. Lyall, "Asiatic Studies," i. p. 326.

at the same table as the slave, the sometime robber and thief was . . . welcomed with thousandfold joy as lost and found, really esteemed as a brother, not only graciously called one. . . . The types of the prodigal son, of the woman that was a sinner, of the tax-gatherer, and the beggar Lazarus were then more than beautiful words, they were very deed and life."¹

So it has to be still: the message of the Church to individuals, to whole churches and to nations is still that which the Apostles gave to the man who first expected to receive something at their hands. . . . "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, walk"; stand on your own feet, grow in independence, but ever remain conscious of the power of Jesus Christ, which enabled you to rise. For our ideal is not only that the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations, but that the Kings of the Earth shall bring their glory into the holy city; that each nation, conscious of its own powers, shall reflect some special side of Christian truth or Christian character, and shall contribute it to the worship of God, with due respect and love for the contribution which other nations are making. Of nations, as of individuals, it shall be true—

"Licet cuique sit diversum pro labore meritum,
Caritas hoc facit suum quod amat in altero,
Proprium sic singulorum fit commune omnium."²

In the apocryphal Acts of St. John there is a remarkable characteristic applied to the Risen Lord,

¹ Weinel, "St. Paul: The Man and His Work," p. 161.

² Damiani, *De gloria et gaudiis Paradisi*.

which we may legitimately transfer to the Church : "I considered," says St. John, "His great grace and His unity which hath many faces" (*πολυπρόσωπον ἐνότητα*, c. 91, ed. Bonnet). "A unity which hath many faces"—that was the mark of the Risen Lord; He was always one and the same Lord, yet now with a face as of the gardener, now as of a fellow-traveller, now as of a stranger by the sea-shore encouraging His followers in their work. So with the Church—there must be in it a unity, resting on the common essential principles of human nature, of love, of the desire of knowledge, of reverence to God; secured by the simple creeds which define the fundamental facts of the nature of God and man and the fact of the Incarnation; finding expression in an organisation continuous through the ages and in real touch with all its members throughout the world; yet compatible with this unity great variety—faces black, white, and yellow; varied features of character; multiform types of worship. It will often be hard to reconcile the variety with the unity; but we may not lose either out of our ideal: we must trust to the Living Spirit to decide each question as it arises. As each difficulty arises we shall make the answer which is attributed to St. John in these apocryphal Acts: "I, when I considered His great grace and His unity which hath many faces, and His unceasing wisdom that was keeping its eyes fixed on us, said, 'This very point shall you learn, if you inquire of Him.'"

Thus when we look to the New Testament for

its guidance on missionary work, we find our goal placed clearly before us; we may not stay our course until we have reached the uttermost parts of the earth and made disciples of all the nations. We find also two great instruments for the task—the first, the missionary preacher sent out by the Church, trusting to the Holy Spirit for guidance, and following the instincts of natural affection and of the political circumstances of the day; the second, the missionary society attracting by the good works of personal life, by the beauty of family life, by its courage and gentleness in the face of a heathen world, and, it may be added here, by the manifest signs of God's Presence in its religious assemblies, which lead the heathen to worship God, declaring that "God is among you indeed" (1 Cor. xiv. 25). Since the time when the New Testament was written, there has arisen the new factor of the Christian, and therefore the missionary, State, and Empire, and that too has to bear its witness by the high standard of political justice which it upholds, and by its care to foster the true development of individuals or societies that are under its rule; and it is the supreme task of the missionary Church to preserve and vitalise and make eternal the motives which will keep the individual, the family, the State each true to its ideal, and will keep in each the humble and grateful consciousness that it is only one section of a redeemed humanity, and that it can be neither content nor complete until the whole has grown conscious of its redemption.

continued.

17/5/29

THE VOCATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE AND ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY

By the Rev. CANON WALPOLE, D.D., Rector of Lambeth,
and Hon. Canon of Southwark.

THE object of this chapter is to press home the responsibility for evangelistic work that rests on the Anglo-Saxon race in general and Great Britain in particular. The larger and smaller aspects are necessarily bound up together, and it is only when we look at our own Imperial duties in the wider one that belongs to the whole race that we realise the sense of vocation. Though it is undoubted that separate nations have vocations—to Greece belonged one, to Rome another, to Persia one, and Assyria another—yet there is always some risk of vanity in supposing that to one particular people a particular greatness belongs. When, however, the nation is sunk in the race, the fact that other peoples share its privileges as well as its responsibilities leads to a more dispassionate and a less prejudiced treatment.

I make no apology for comparing the duty that is now laid upon the Anglo-Saxon race with that which once belonged to the Semitic, and later to the Latin race, because the teaching of history involved in such a comparison forces us, as I think nothing

else can, to face the serious judgment to which any failure in our mission must inevitably lead.

Much is written, and more is talked about the future of the Anglo-Saxon race, but the point of view is usually secular, and stress is generally laid on racial characteristics as though these in themselves were permanent and unassailable virtues. It is only when we look at the matter from the divine rather than the human standpoint, that we feel at once the greatness and the infinite responsibility that rests upon us.

We shall first glance rapidly at the call of the Semitic race in order that we may learn, if we may, how she failed in the great mission with which she was once trusted. Very early, as far back as Abraham, we hear the great promise, "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." And then again and again through the centuries we are assured of her world-wide influence—"It shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."¹

It may be said that such predictions were fulfilled in the unique position Israel held through the Christ that was born of her. And yet the words of our Lord,² "The kingdom of God shall be taken

¹ Isa. ii. 2, 3:

² Matt. xxi. 43.

away from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof," and the disappointment that is felt in that other saying, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations, but ye have made it a den of thieves,"¹ suggest a world-wide mission which was not followed, an opportunity which was not only missed but perverted. It was intended in the Divine decrees that Israel should be the great centre of missionary influence.

Not only by prediction but by situation and privilege she was marked out as such. A missionary Church must be one of marked individuality of character, of independence and strong convictions. Cosmopolitanism would be fatal to her influence. She must have learned that independence which those who live in the mountains exhibit; and acquired that boldness to speak her mind and hold to her opinions, however unpopular they may be, which those who live in solitude often possess.

So Israel was shut up in a land singularly protected by nature from continuous interruptions. Her sandy dangerous coast on the West, the great mountains of the Lebanon range on the North, the deep Jordan moat on the East, and the sandy desert on the South, marked her insularity. She was thus placed in a retreat where she might not only learn without distraction the revelation God should give her, but acquire that marked independence which even now she wears.

She was to be separate, not for her own sake, but for the development of those virtues that would

¹ Mark xi. 17.

best help her to fulfil the high duties which were to be laid on her.

But though shut up by herself, and charged not to learn the ways or manners of those who yet remained within her borders, she was singularly placed in the very midst of the great nations she was intended to influence. Palestine lay between two continents, Asia and Africa, between two great centres of Empire; between, to use Mr. Adam Smith's own words, "two primæval homes of men, the valley of the Euphrates and the Nile; between two great centres of Empire, Western Asia and Egypt, between all these representing the Eastern and ancient world, and the Mediterranean which is the gateway to the Western and modern world."¹ It was a superb position for a missionary nation.

But further, not only was her future marked out by prediction and position, but also by Divine privilege. St. Paul summed these up in the words, "whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever."² Never was any nation so carefully educated and trained for her high mission as Israel was. And her glory was supreme just at the time when the world most needed her services. Her house was to be "a house of prayer for all the nations"; her word was to be the charter of salvation for all peoples; her sons were to be the publishers of glad tidings all over the world. All

¹ George Adam Smith, "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land," p. 6.

² Rom. ix. 4, 5.

was ready, and in the providence of history her people were scattered over the earth. Her orthodoxy was beyond reproach, and her zeal was as marked as her opportunity. And yet she failed. Failed, not because of indifference to missionary enterprise, for "she compassed sea and land to make one proselyte,"¹ but because she sought her own aggrandisement. It was Israel and not the world, the kingdom of Judæa, and not the kingdom of God that she sought.

And so the judgment was pronounced. "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

At first it was not clear where the new centre of missionary enterprise was to be. For a time it seemed as though the work of evangelising the world was to be carried on by the same race in the Judaic Christian Church. The first great missionaries were all Semites, and the influence of Christianity during the first half century was concentrated in Jerusalem. The capture and destruction of the Holy City together with the indifference of the Jews to the message of the Gospel changed this. St. Paul's conversation with the Jews of Rome summed up his whole experience, and made it plain that their religious influence was over. He may have seen at the same time that neither at Ephesus, Corinth, nor at Athens was the new centre to be, but at Rome. It was to the Latin race that the great opportunity of evangelising the world now passed. And this not fortuitously or by accident. Both land and history had contributed important elements of character to the Latin race.

¹ Matt. xxiii. 15.

Italy, like Palestine, was a retreat separated from the rest of the world. The high mountain ranges of the Alps made a high wall that cut off Europe from too easy communication with the peninsula. On all other sides she was shut off by the sea. Her people developed naturally just those virtues of independence and self-reliance that were to prove of such value both in her material and spiritual supremacy. The training she gained in her growth as a great fighting power matured her moral character. As Dr. Moberly rightly says: "The qualities which make a military nation are for the most part very closely akin to moral greatness. The people who cannot or will not be as men in the duty of battle, can hardly be as men in the security of peace. . . . It is moral fibre, it is discipline which rules self to the point of self-sacrifice: it is the surrender of all the conditions of life and of life itself for the purposes which make life worth living. . . . It is moral force which really dominates the world, not in anti-thesis against, but rather (with whatever apparent exceptions) as a real basis of material power."¹ And in spite of the effete condition of the Roman Empire, when Christianity became a force, these old qualities were not dead, and reappeared again in bishops like Ambrose and popes like Leo and Gregory. And with the new development of these old characteristics by the power of Christ there came ever fresh opportunities which gradually made the Latin race through the Roman Church the dominant influence in the civilised world. Slowly the Papacy grew, till between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries it

✓ ¹ Moberly, "Christ Our Life: Empire," p. 191.

wielded a larger power than any Throne in past history. Emperors and kings were deposed, and their dominions given away to those whom the Church thought most fit to receive them. In the words of Sir James Stephen, whilst Pagan Rome had been raised up to conquer and civilise, to Christian Rome had been appointed a far "loftier destiny. It was hers to mediate between hostile nations. . . . to render the Apostolic Throne the source and centre of an holy influence which, diffused through every member of the social body, should inform and animate and amalgamate the whole, and realise the inspired delineation of that yet unborn age when the lion and the lamb should lie down together with a little child their leader."¹ Opportunity after opportunity was found and used. Little by little large parts of the world passed naturally under her influence. India, South America, the West Indies, all gave unequalled opportunities for the propagation of the Christian faith. France and Spain were her two most loyal daughters, and between them held the larger part of the world. And as though to show that Rome was not unmindful of her privileges, just when her power was about to decline, the celebrated Order of Jesuits was formed with the express purpose of propagating the faith. This surely was the very reason of her existence, this was her vocation. "No one," writes the Bishop of Birmingham, "can fairly contemplate the greatness of the Papacy or consider how vast a position it occupies in the whole of history without being satisfied that it is something greater than could ever

¹ Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical History," p. 13.

have been created by the ambition or power of individual popes or by the evil forces of injustice and fraud. It is one of those great historic growths which indicate a Divine purpose latent in the tendencies of things and the circumstances of the world."¹ The Latin race through Rome was to bring the heathen world to the feet of Christ. And yet, in spite of her zeal to make proselytes, so little did she understand the way in which it was to be done that she supported with all her influence the Crusades, that clumsy and carnal instrument for the deliverance of the Eastern world from the power of Mahomet.

A purer spirit was excited by the reforming influences that were making themselves felt, and it seemed as though the celebrated Order of the Jesuits had been organised to express it. They took advantage of the Latin conquests in America and planted noble missions in the new fields opened up by Columbus and Vasco da Gama. And yet, in spite of a wealth of zeal and missionary enthusiasm, those who judge of these missions by the effects that remain to-day are obliged to confess them failures. Bishop Cotton, who had no Protestant bias against Roman Catholicism, considered the methods pursued in India and Ceylon most deplorable. And we cannot forget that even in heathen lands the Inquisition was freely used for the propagation of the Faith. In fact, any study of Roman missions, whether ancient or modern, forces the unwilling conclusion that the main object has not been so much to make disciples of Christ after the pattern of the New Testament as to make loyal

¹ "Roman Catholic Claims," p. 102, by the Bishop of Birmingham.

subjects to the Roman obedience. South Africa bears the same witness as India and Ceylon to "the unholy accommodation of Christian truth and observance to heathenish superstitions and customs," and Bishop Caldwell confesses that, in his judgment, the Roman Christians "do not differ in intellect, habit, and morals from the heathen in the smallest degree."

And yet, superficial as the conversions would appear to be, the increase in the Roman missions in India, to take one field, is but $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. compared with over 60 per cent. in the Anglo-Saxon missions. It is no doubt true that the wealth of personal sacrifice is considerable, men and women are still ready to take their lives in their hands and give themselves up for the cause of the Cross with the devotion Father Damien showed; but the general interest in Roman foreign missions, if estimated by the amount subscribed, is very small. Cardinal Lavigerie complained some years ago that Protestants contributed twenty times as much as Roman Catholics. It is not unnatural that, when her advocates wish to persuade us that the religious influence of the Latin race is still preponderating, they should bid us think not of France, Spain, or Italy, but of America. But the inference they would wish us to draw from that is misleading. It is true, and none but bigoted partisans would regret it, that the Roman Church has been able to keep her hold, to a large extent, of the life that has passed from Europe to America, and house it in magnificent buildings, colleges, churches, and schools, but it is a question whether

in the centuries to come this hold will be maintained save at the expense of all that is specially Latin in its character. The question men ask in America is not, what effect will Roman Catholicism have on American opinion, but what effect will American opinion have on Roman Catholicism? As a disciplinary force it is recognised and appreciated, but when Cardinal Gibbons states in public that "the Sovereign Pontiff, though he has no army to enforce his commands, makes and interprets laws which bind the consciences of men," the American public, even that which is Roman Catholic, only accepts it as a mere decoration, necessary as the Cardinal's hat but without any real force. There are some indeed who go so far as to look for a day when the Latin character of the Roman Church will be gone, when the Pope will be an American, the language of the Mass English, the Cardinals in the main Anglo-Saxon, when the words Roman Catholic will be a misnomer. That is possible, but if such a change should ever come it would be the most startling evidence of the fact that the kingdom once so splendid and full of opportunities had passed for ever away from Rome. That the Papacy, the backbone of Roman Catholicism as we know it, may last a good while longer is possible, but not in its present form. "A thousand historical causes in the religious, social, and philanthropic order gradually brought about its triumph; causes of the same nature are everywhere at work, if not to destroy, at least to transform it. It was one thing in ancient days, another in the Middle Ages, another in modern times; it will be another in the future.

Its destiny depends upon its gift of self-adaptation to the necessities of modern times. It will live so long as it retains this gift; when it is exhausted, that will happen which happens to every institution: it will have lived."¹ It may be able to throw itself into the free life and spirit of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, but to do this it must change its character. It can no longer be an autocracy. It must recognise, as Judæa refused to recognise, the liberty and free government of the peoples it seeks to win for Christ. As the Jewish Church denied a place in her religious commonwealth to all who were not circumcised and in all things obedient to the law of Moses, so Rome has hitherto refused to admit to her fellowship any but those who will submit to the chair of St. Peter. Such a policy in the end means self-destruction. As the old prophet cried, "Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself," so the seer of the future will lament, "Oh Rome, thou hast destroyed thyself."

In any case, whatever be its future, its old opportunity has gone. Any map will show how shrunken its dominions are now compared with what they were in the fourteenth century, and now it is to the Anglo-Saxon race that the command has gone forth: "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations."

At the death of Henry VIII., the city of Calais represented the whole of the foreign dominion of the Anglo-Saxon people. Had any one prophesied that to that small and insular people was to pass an influence such as Rome had never dreamed of,

¹ Sabatier, "The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit."

it would have seemed absurd. There was no sign of it. Yet little by little it took place. By the end of the seventeenth century there were scarcely more than the streaks of the dawn of empire; a little later there were great patches of light in the dark parts of North America and the West Indies. It was not, however, till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that these small beginnings were extended, till they reached the present limits of the Anglo-Saxon race, which in territory extends over more than one-fourth of the globe, and in direct influence over nearly one-third of all the people of the world.

Roughly speaking, of the three hundred and fifty millions thus placed, about one hundred are Christian, and of these a large, possibly the larger number, belongs to the Anglican Communion. On the Anglican Church then there lies a peculiar responsibility for taking the lead in fulfilling the mission which God has given the race. The necessity of space and the purpose of this volume compel me to confine myself to one particular aspect of this work; but, before passing on, it is only right to say that it is impossible on the one hand that the Church should be indifferent to the missionary efforts of the various religious organisations that have won such a distinguished place in the mission field, and on the other that she should be careless of the great part that American Christianity must necessarily play. To her, however, belongs peculiarly the necessity of concentrating her mind and thought on the evangelisation of the empire. The fact that she had a definite place in the life of the race

before the State was formed, and that she has done so much to form and develop the life of the people, makes her own people her first charge. She is to be the counteracting influence to that false Imperialism which would make the subject races minister to the wealth of the empire, instead of the empire ministering to them. Her duty is first to use her own people for the conversion of the peoples within the dominions of the State, and then to use them for the evangelisation of the world. She can, however, only do this effectually if, remembering the vocation of the race, she throws herself thoroughly into the spirit of its mission. The sense of this will be quickened by recalling the fact that England seems to be marked out by her position and history for the great work to which she is called. Like Italy and Palestine, she is so situated as to develop that independence of character which is so necessary for an evangelising or missionary power. Isolated as Palestine was and isolated as Italy is, neither isolation is so complete as that of Great Britain. Shut off from frequent intercourse by the sea, England developed that marked strength of character which earned for her at once the dislike and admiration of other countries. Silent, reserved, insular as her people are, they have the advantages of their failings in the quiet strength, self-sufficiency, and independence which have proved of such untold value in their relations with subject races. Unlike the Jew and Roman in so many things, yet they have one main characteristic in common, that which their critics call pride and their friends call personality.

But not only is the call of God marked by her geographical position, but also by her history. "On the whole I do give it as my thankful and sincere belief," writes Sir H. Edwardes of the most important part of the British Dominions, "that the Indian Empire of our country was not got by design, or policy of ambition—was not a thing England coveted—but was got against our will, in the face of repeated protests from home, contrary to the avowed policy of nearly every Governor-General, and, in a word, forced on us piecemeal in self-defence. Nor is this enough to say. For when we thus review the story of two centuries and a half, and bring the beginning and the end together in one *coup d'œil* before us, setting Captain Lancaster and his five little ships of 1601 beside the British India of our day, dull indeed must be the brain that is not struck with the utter inadequacy of the means employed, to the results which have been obtained; and dull indeed the heart that does not cry aloud, 'This thing is of God.' 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give the praise.'" ¹

But what Sir H. Edwardes writes of India might be written of other parts of the British dominions. As one providential ordering after another went to form the strength of the Papacy, so too the same divine guiding is clearly seen in the formation of our empire. It is of God, and not of man.

And further, in this gradual growth of empire there has been in the very heart of it a similar

¹ "Our Indian Empire," p. 12.

growth in the conception of liberty. That has been as surprising as the enlargement of her boundaries and as essential for the fulfilment of her responsibilities. For it is only on a free soil that the Gospel can hope to reach its fullest development. It is true that English liberty and independence of character are responsible for the large variety of religious opinion which has constantly hampered and hindered the establishment and growth of the kingdom of God ; but, on the other hand, there has been nothing of the compulsion and bondage which disfigures the missionary enterprise of the early Middle Ages, when the heathen were baptized at the point of the sword. There is less and less danger that the sincerity of conversions should be marred by interested motives.

With these singular privileges, there is the further help that comes through the interest in, and love for, the Bible, which has been a characteristic feature of the nation for at least three hundred years. In no country has this been so marked as in England, in no race so distinguished as in the Anglo-Saxon. Its translation into English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an epoch in the life of the English people, and Green does not over emphasise its importance when he writes : " The whole temper of the nation was changed. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class. . . . The whole nation in fact became a Church." ¹

It is true that the competition of secular literature

¹ Green's " History of the English People," p. 449.

has to some extent damped this first enthusiasm for the Word of God, but the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the widespread interest in the diffusion of the knowledge of the Bible amongst all classes, especially amongst the children of our elementary schools, proves that even now it occupies a place in England quite unlike that which it fills in any other nation, and among the Anglo-Saxon peoples it commands a respect and reverence which is not found elsewhere. As to the importance of this for a missionary nation nothing need be said. Evangelisation without the Bible would be an almost impossible task.

Beyond this there is the further help that is afforded by the Prayer Book. Before the English nation existed there was a Church, a Church which has not only her roots far back in the past, even in Apostolic times, but has expressed her mind with singular catholicity of spirit in the Prayer Book. Again and again in the saloon of a steamer, the drawing-room of a house, the hall of a public building, Americans and English people alike, of various beliefs, who are accustomed to very different expressions of religious feelings, meet together and find in this old sixteenth-century book the satisfaction of their spiritual aspirations. Here again there is the temptation to persuade, if not to force, all the religious life of the empire to flow within this one channel of expression; there is the danger of diverting if not quenching the life of the Spirit as it exhibits itself in the fuller emotional expression of the Oriental: but provided this danger be guarded against, the

VOCATION OF ANGLO-SAXON RACE 37

Prayer Book may fill the same office for the native races of India and Africa that the ancient Liturgies have filled in our own development of worship, may supply a basis for varying and differing forms of service, Catholic in principle though local in expression.

One more singular advantage we may mention before closing, and that is the wide diffusion of the English language. That America became English rather than French or Spanish, has meant in the providence of God that the English tongue should be known throughout the world. That which Rome hoped to achieve by forcing all her children who wished to have an intelligent knowledge of her services to learn a dead language, has been given to the Anglican Communion naturally in the ordering of the events of history. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this gift for missionary enterprise. The extraordinary opportunities given by the telephone and telegram for ease of communication, are made everywhere available where there is a common language. And a common language not only means liberty of intercourse, but the opportunity for young nations and peoples to enter into the intellectual wealth of an older race. The knowledge that in time all India and large parts of Africa will be speaking and reading English, means that the religious and secular worlds of thought both in America and England will be laid open, and that the traditions of liberty and justice will silently and easily penetrate the lives of the peoples.

With such singular gifts of Providence it might

seem that there could be no serious danger threatening the vocation of the Anglo-Saxon people to take the lead in the evangelisation of the world. And yet, looking at our own large share in it, it is impossible not to feel alarmed by the fact, that within the British Empire the truths of justice and good government are advancing more rapidly than the truths of Christianity; and by the further fact, that the witness of large numbers of English people in India and our Colonies living without any definite recognition of the Incarnation, is leading, and with the spread of education must necessarily lead, to a profound distrust of a Faith that apparently needs neither profession nor expression. The sense of vocation to preach the Gospel, and build up the kingdom of God is being lost in the sense that our first object must be to secure England's greatness. We must be just and fair to all, because England's reputation suffers if we are not. In fact, the old danger that destroyed the missionary character of the Jewish Church, and has greatly limited the missionary influence of the Roman Church, is threatening ourselves under a new form. Judæa was dominated by the desire to make every convert to the faith of the Old Testament obedient to the Law; Rome by the desire to make every believer obedient to the Chair of St. Peter; England is tempted to confine the use of her great opportunity to making every native obedient to the Crown. In each case the higher and larger view of making all obedient to Christ has been lost sight of. What then is needful? On what lines may we hope to

counteract that English self-complacency that is satisfied with railways, canals, bridges on the one hand, and durbars and colonial gatherings on the other. In the first place, England and America must alike recognise that the vocation of the race is spiritual not material, that their duty is to bring the peoples subject to them to own the authority of Christ as their chief obedience, beyond that of Monarch or President, and to represent not only by fairness of rule, but by reality of religious devotion the Kingdom of God and His Christ. Such a recognition will of course mean a serious endeavour that our Christian fellow subjects should have all the help they need for their religious life. And this not merely for their own sake but for the sake of the heathen amongst whom they live. For they are books, read of all men and easily understood by the poorest and most illiterate. Vain indeed is it to send out Bibles and religious tracts translated at great cost into the language of the race we seek to evangelise, if with them go out other books which contradict them.

The foregoing pages will, I hope, have shown us that we have still a magnificent opportunity, which will, no doubt, be dwelt upon in the great Congress in 1908. In spite of the progress in missions that has been made within the last hundred years, this opportunity has grown so large that it must be sorrowfully confessed that we have hardly begun to use it. Workers and money must be increased a hundredfold before we can be said to be on the way to fulfil our destiny. The position

is critical, and prudence and economy as well as the providential ordering of history demand that we fulfil first our nearest and most obvious duty. Whatever may be the present opportunity in China, no thoughtful Englishman can say that it holds the same place or presents the same advantages as the opportunity in India, Africa, or the Philippines. To admit that, would be to ignore the open door that civilisation and government present. Missionary work under the British or American flags must necessarily be easier and more fruitful than work under heathen jurisdiction. The difficulties that a Government presents which strives to be absolutely impartial in religious matters, are more than counterbalanced by the justice, liberty, and countenance which is given to the work of the missionary.

But it is not that the work in the empire has such a large promise attached to it by its circumstances, but that it stands first in obligation. It would be absurd to say that we should be doing our duty as a Christian nation if we stopped half the work in London to take advantage of a crisis in China. "If any man provide not for his own household, he is worse than an infidel," are words which show clearly that the family stands first. And if we regard the empire as one great family—and the word is meaningless unless it bears that interpretation—it is only narrowness of vision, short-sightedness, that makes that part of the family which is in India less dear than that part of the family which is in London. It might be right to send half the Christian workers in England to

India for a time to take some important stronghold, as it might be right to concentrate our British forces on some part of the empire that was being attacked, for in both cases there is a recognition of the national bond that binds us all together. There is a first and second in Christian, as every other enterprise, and no success is likely to attend our missionary efforts until it is recognised definitely as a part of our policy. We cannot safely ignore the plain teaching of history, nor suppose that God has given us this vast estate merely to practise our hand in government. He would be judged a very poor philanthropist who allowed his own tenants to live in miserable cottages where drains, roofs, rooms were all in urgent need of repair, whilst he spent time and money in solving the housing problem in London. And yet that is our danger at the present time. Whilst our own vast estate is in desperate need of attention, we are giving part of our interest and resources to places needing both sadly enough, but for which we have not the same responsibility.

We need a definite policy, a plan of campaign, and in this there should be a clear recognition of the high duties to which we have been called as an Empire and a race. A Board of Missions representing all the great provinces of the Anglican Communion, and surveying the whole field of our responsibility with impartial eyes, might not only frame and direct such a policy, but quicken the whole race to a sense of the greatness and importance of the task that lies before it.

THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL LIFE

By the Rev. JOHN ELLISON, M.A., Vicar of Windsor,
and Chaplain in Ordinary to H.M. the King.

No student of the Bible can doubt that God has made use of nations in carrying out His purposes for the world. Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, no less than the chosen people, have each had their tasks assigned to them. To the student of history it is equally clear that the same Divine claim upon the life of nations has constantly asserted itself with irresistible force in the affairs of Christendom. It has converted rude tribes into civilised peoples; it has inspired the noblest efforts of nations, and changed the course of their history. Time after time it has proved itself the strongest of the forces which have made the modern world.

The question now asked is, whether this fundamental truth of the sanctity and responsibility of national life has to-day as large a hold upon the British race as it ought to have, in view of its eventful history. It is submitted that it is, to a large extent, a lost truth; and that what is most needed for the welfare alike of Church and State is a vigorous reassertion on the part of the Church of the truth that nations—our own nation in particular—have their tasks assigned to them by

God; a well-considered policy which shall bring home to the British race, whether in England or the Colonies, the enormous responsibilities entrusted to it by God within the area of the British Empire.

The writer is a Churchman, and when he uses the word "Church" will refer in the first instance to the Church of which he is a member, and with whose working he is familiar. He hopes however that his message may find willing hearers among the other religious bodies which give expression to the Christianity of the race. He is an Englishman, and as such wishes to guard himself against being supposed to use the words "nation" or "empire" in a technical or aggressive sense, or to rule out such ideas as Colonial nationalism. The empire exists. For the present at least it is the fullest and best expression of British nationality. From the Christian point of view its existence means responsibility for the nation, or if it be preferred, the group of nations who hold it in trust from God.

To many keen observers the most anxious feature of the present time is its lack of worthy ideals.

"In the restlessness and discontent and uncertainty,"¹ says the late Bishop Westcott, "which have marked the close of a century of unequalled material prosperity, we can recognise the inarticulate desire for some master-thought which shall be inspiration and guidance for nobler efforts to which our gathered resources can be consecrated."

The point that may cause surprise is the direction in which the Bishop looks for his master-thought.

¹ "Lessons from Work," p. 382.

The British Empire and the responsibility it involves are at once seized by him as the only conception adequate to his purpose.

"Can we not find (that master-thought), at least under one aspect in the thought of Imperial duty as I have sought to explain it, the free offering of age-long experience to the enthusiasm of youth, of the discipline of strength to the immature and weak, the translating into action of the principle of the Divine life—not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

Why, it will be said, "the thought of *Imperial duty*"? Why degrade the ideal which the Church is to put before the nation by pointing men to any smaller field of work than that "all the world" to which our Lord called His disciples, and in which the Church has found the field for its noblest energies?

Our answer shall be—

(1) That such an ideal corresponds with the need for specialisation which in the present day affects the work of the Church as of other institutions. Specialisation is not degradation. In all great causes a time arrives when the horizon becomes so wide and the conditions so complex as to need the specialist. In science or mechanics the specialist is not held to be the enemy but the truest friend of general progress, and it is in the interests of the world at large, and with Christ's great commission ringing in our ears, that we ask the question whether the circumstances of the age in which we live do not demand some degree of specialisation in the Church's work in the world, and therefore in the ideal she holds before the

nation. Such a question does not mean disloyalty to the Commission to "make disciples of all the nations," it is rather an effort to translate that commission into terms of the present day.

Specialisation is demanded—

a. By the enormous field of work to be covered, in a world that has been opened out to spiritual effort as it never was before.

b. By the limited resources which, under present conditions, each nation and each Church is able to bring to the task.

c. Its nature must be determined by the character of the task to be accomplished.

(2) For consider how entirely the character of the task has changed within comparatively the last few years.

A new factor has arisen in the control which the Western nations exercise in the form of spheres of influence, protectorates, dependencies, and the like over so large a portion of the world; and in the influence therefore which national character in its varied forms exercises over the destinies of the less advanced races. In old days the Church in the person of her missionaries was as one going into the wilderness. She had virgin soil to deal with, she represented Western culture and civilisation. To-day she can hardly turn to any part of the world without finding herself under the flag of some Western power. She is no longer a pioneer. All around her are the forces of civilisation. The railroads and the schools and the law courts are doing far more than her spoken word to alter the outward

conditions, and to undermine the social and religious systems of the tribes and races to whom she ministers. These forces are not working at haphazard. They are directed by civilised governments which have their own ideas as to the welfare of the governed. The aims of one government differ widely from those of another.¹ It makes a very real difference to a native race whether it has learned its civilisation under the ideals of British, or American, or German, or Belgian government.

The nationality, therefore, of the missionary is a factor which counts for much.

A Church which would serve the world, and

¹ The special article in the *Times* for Christmas Day, 1906, on "Indian Affairs," may be quoted in support of this statement so far as British ideas of education are concerned.

After pointing out how the secular system of education imposed on the Government by its ideal of religious neutrality has—

1. dislocated religious belief both in the Hindu and the Mohammedan, so that "no Pandit or Maulvi of the old school can ever be got to believe that a B.A. has any religion worth speaking of. Indeed, to wear English clothes, which are affected by those who have had an English education, is generally recognised as an outward and visible sign of the loss of faith"—and

2. destroyed "the reverence for authority which was India's solitary contribution to political thought." The article ends: "The shortcomings of Indian education might be summarised in four words, '*Duty is not taught.*' Now whatever else we disagree about in England, we are all of one mind that duty, with its correlative, discipline, is the larger and better part of education. The reason why duty is not taught in India is that there is no object of reverence for which duty can be invoked. Religion is forbidden to us by our policy of religious neutrality, and we have not, like the Japanese, found a substitute for it in veneration for the State. The lesson which Englishmen may draw from the experience of secular education in India is that it is not wise to abolish religious education until some substitute for it has been found with which the idea of duty could be associated."

especially a Church which stands for the theory of national Churches, cannot afford to leave its attitude undefined towards this entirely new state of things. The missionary policy which was adequate to simpler conditions is inadequate to-day. It is not merely the administrative question of avoiding those misunderstandings which have arisen, and will continue to arise, when the missionaries of one Western nation find themselves working under the flag of another; it is the far deeper question, how the national life of different nations can best be used to the glory of God. The Churches that can best face such a problem are those which have retained their respect for national life as a thing capable of being used for Divine ends. Properly used, that respect for national life ought to be their strongest weapon as contrasted with the mischievous system of the Church of Rome. The future belongs to the Churches which are in sympathy with, and can avail themselves of, the growing power of nationality in the affairs of the world.

The ideal that is put before us of "Imperial duty" as the present goal of the British race is thus seen to be no selfish or narrow one. It carries with it far larger aims for the spread of Christ's kingdom in the world at large than have yet been possible. It is an appeal to national life in the widest sense. It is a challenge to other Christian nations to take up that task of ministering to the sick and hungry races of the world, which God has assigned to them in giving them world-power, and for which they too will be judged in that day when—

"The Son of Man shall come in His glory . . . and before Him shall be gathered all nations, and He shall separate them one from another."

It implies the conviction that under present conditions, the most effective way of carrying out Christ's commission is for each separate Christian Church to carry with it into its work the force and inspiration of its own national life; and to concentrate its efforts upon that portion of the earth's surface where a soil congenial to its teaching has already been prepared by the existence of its own Christian government, the presence of its own national sentiment, the pressure of the great needs whose very existence is due to the working out of its own national ideals. It appeals to our own Church to set an example, by carrying into the life of the British Empire that national policy which has served it so well in this island—the connection of spiritual responsibility with territorial possession; and to initiate a policy which shall aim at concentrating effort upon the area of the empire, and in this way consecrating and uplifting the whole life of the race.

Our Church is specially qualified, both by advantage and disadvantage, to take the lead in such a policy. It has the *advantage* of possessing a field of work which is at the present time mainly confined to the British Empire.¹ The policy suggested would

¹ According to the latest figures available, out of 101 Dioceses abroad in communion with the Church of England (excluding of course the Dioceses of the American Church) only 18 lie either wholly or in part outside the British Empire.

not therefore mean any considerable readjustment of territory; its greatest *disadvantage* is that it has never, as yet, been able to avail itself of the force of Imperial sentiment which such a field of work ought to make possible. Its vaguely cosmopolitan policy has robbed it of the right to appeal, except incidentally, to the sentiment of empire, and to that extent it is a loser. To the Church of England the policy of concentration now suggested would not be new and untried. It would be a reversion to her original policy. It was with a definite area in view, "many of our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the seas belonging to our kingdom of England," that in 1701 she established one of her first missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. No one would, of course, propose that existing work should be abandoned, or expect that the conceptions which now govern the Church's missionary work would come to an end.¹ All that would be asked is, that the conception here suggested should be allowed to take its place alongside of those now existing, and given the chance of proving its worth.

(3) Consider, too, how greatly the State in the present day needs the Church of Christ, and how

¹ *E.g.* the resolution forwarded by the Diocese of Rockhampton to the Pan-Anglican Congress Committee, quoted in the pamphlet of the Congress; S.P.C.K.:—"Whether the time has not come to look closely into, and if necessary to revise the organisation of missionary work in accordance with the example set in Holy Scripture, in such a way that, without giving up work already begun, (1) any advance in the future should be along the lines of the Empire, (2) the pastoral care of the less settled colonies should not be subordinated to the evangelisation of the heathen."

impossible it will be for the Church to help the State unless it is frankly national, in the sense of identifying itself, in a way intelligible to all, with the highest aims and aspirations of the national life.

Both at home and abroad the State needs spiritual power. Only the Church of Christ can recall the nation to a sense of the sacredness, and therefore the dignity and worth of its mission. Only the Church can give to the nation a permanent basis for the patriotism which it needs; for patriotism means love of country, and men can only love that which they feel to be worthy of their respect and honour. "We cannot generate," said a recent writer in the *Times*, "any real spirit of everyday devotion to the common good; we lack drive and deep conviction. We have some patriotic instincts and prejudices, but prejudice is a bad makeshift for reasoned purpose." True! and it depends mainly upon the Church of Christ (I use the word, of course, in the widest sense possible) whether the nation can regain that reasoned purpose in its patriotism. Is the Church capable of so forgetting many of the aims and ambitions and rivalries which now distract its energies, as to be able to rise to the magnificent task of bringing home to the nation the greatness of its mission in the world?

In the greatness of that mission lies the true hope both of the Church and the nation. It means a wide horizon; and eyes trained to such an outlook find it hard to focus themselves to the smaller aims that, to our shame, have been allowed so

THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL LIFE 51

largely to occupy the whole field of view. God forbid that the craven fear of being great should ever make us shrink from looking out steadily upon the problems and difficulties which empire lays upon our nation. In India and elsewhere our civil servants are facing those problems with an heroic self-effacement deserving of far larger recognition than it has yet obtained, and it is laymen,¹ men engaged in the work of the empire, who are helping us to realise the truth to which the writers of this book bear such consistent witness, that the problems laid upon us, whether in the colonies or among the native races, are at bottom spiritual problems, and need spiritual power for their ultimate solution.

Those problems belong to us all, whether we live in England or the colonies. As yet, for all practical purposes, the empire is the only full expression of our nationality. The growth of the spirit of Colonial nationalism would change, it may be, the distribution, but not the reality or the urgency of the problems in question. There would still remain a "white man's burden" for every Christian nation entrusted with dominion over subject races. A Church which stands for the national theory of Christianity can have nothing but welcome for the growing spirit of nationality among the colonies of Great Britain.² What she cares about is, that the growth of nationality should

¹ *E.g.* Col. Sir Frederick Younghusband: "Rede Lecture"—Report in the *Times* of 12th June 1905. Cf. also Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05, paragraphs 282, 284, 286, 289.

² Cf. pp. 159-185.

go hand in hand with a growth in the sense of responsibility. Herein lies a further point at which the Church may prove itself a necessary factor in the development of the empire.

The fear which haunts the statesman of to-day is lest the growth of Colonial nationalism should prove itself a disruptive force. In that sense of national responsibility which it is the Church's business to create, may be found to lie one of those great unifying forces on which the statesman of the future will be able to rely in his effort to bind together in one political organism a family of free and independent nations. Indeed, it is worth noticing in this connection that in the latest attempt to forecast the future of the British Empire (Mr. Jebb's "Studies in Colonial Nationalism"), this work of raising and training the subject races of the world, is seized upon as the conception most likely to supply the link that shall unite the Mother Country with her daughter nations in a worthy Imperial partnership, and so strengthen the political unity of the empire. To such a thinker the future of the empire depends upon the power of England and her colonies to rise to a spiritual ideal.

Bishop Westcott's ideal of "Imperial duty" has become to him no longer the vision of a seer, but a touch-stone of practical statesmanship.

"It is," he says, "within the power of British statesmanship to foster and energise this Imperial instinct, and thereby to invest the prospect of alliance not only with a wider scope and a nobler purpose than mere defensive or commercial inte-

rests, but also with a sentimental sanction—the sense of a common duty to fulfil—a sanction more potent and enduring than the sentiment of blood and religion.” That so clear a thinker can find it possible to draw a distinction between the religion of Christ, and the duty of nations to minister to subject races, is a proof of miserable failure on the part of the Church to get herself and her message understood by the masses of our countrymen.

Something more than a mere “sentimental sanction” will be needed if ever this high instinct (thank God that it exists!) is to become a pillar in our Imperial system; and that something is just what the State ought to be able to rely upon as the Church’s contribution to the national welfare. The Church ought to be able to invest it with religious sanction. She has it in her power to tell men that this ministering to subject races, this feeding the hungry, this clothing the naked, *is* the religion which Christ expects of Christian nations. It is, alas, a forgotten truth. Men do not credit the Church with teaching it; and our contention is that she will never be able to reassert it on the scale, and with the concentration of purpose that the times demand, until she has made it the foundation of a policy.

A great nation will never whisper its needs into the ear of a Church which is primarily œcumenical, and only incidentally national. The process must be reversed. The Church must show herself primarily national. She must identify herself by means of an intelligible policy with the highest aims of the

nation. What the nation needs is spiritual sanction for the tasks that confront it in the world. The nation's need is the Church's opportunity. To consecrate and spiritualise the ideals of the empire is a task worthy of the Church; under present conditions it is the noblest contribution she can make towards the evangelisation of the world.

(4) If the nation needs the Church, it is no less true that the Church needs the nation.

She needs, that is, the strength, the inspiration, the breadth which may be expected to come to her from working frankly in line with the divinely ordered system of things represented by the British Empire.

There is no question, be it observed, of the Church becoming a department of the State. The Church and the State are different societies. The means by which they attain their respective ends must ever be different. The Christian Church has its own course to take, its own destiny to fulfil. But it should be remembered that in many cases, as in India, the ideals of the Church and the State have a certain approximation. The Church's ideal of creating independent native Churches is the correlative in the spiritual sphere of the ideal so faithfully pursued by the Government of training the natives of India for independent political life; and the difficulty which confronts the State with regard to the organisation of the empire—in what way to combine the unity of the whole with the independence of the parts—is the very same difficulty which confronts the Church. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that the experience of the State

may be made available in many directions by a Church that has learned to look upon itself not as a department of the State, but as a fellow-worker with it in a great and noble enterprise. Times of stress and difficulty are not the times when men who are on the same side can afford to think over-much about the extent of their differences. It is more profitable to think of points of agreement. The same voice which has called us to the ideal of Imperial duty reminds us that—

“The Statesman and the Divine equally strive to further the growth of humanity . . . both look forward in hours of insight to the peace, unity, and concord of all nations, the goal of earthly existence.”¹

At one particular point, a policy which should aim at identifying the Church with the highest interests of the empire might be expected to prove itself of immediate value. It would enable the Church to make her appeal to a new and hitherto disregarded motive—Christian Patriotism. It would rally to the support of the Church the whole weight of that Imperial sentiment which ought to be the strongest and most inspiring element in our national life. It would place upon the Church the responsibility of rescuing for the highest purposes a sentiment that has never yet been appealed to for spiritual ends.

It is a sentiment which needs rescuing. It has been degraded; it is capable of being degraded yet further; but it is capable too of being raised and glorified. The South African war revealed its power

¹ Westcott, “Lessons from Work,” p. 383.

of responding to the empire's need. The death of Queen Victoria showed that it can beat as the heart of one man in the presence of a common sorrow. The welcome given by the masses of our countrymen both at home and abroad to the writings of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, finds its explanation in the fact that he has given expression, often very noble expression, to a sentiment which was longing to be expressed. The same welcome awaits the Church which will recognise the possibilities of this Imperial sentiment, interpret its deeper feelings and aspirations, and claim it as a weapon meet to be used in the service of God.

The Church needs such a welcome. Its most heart-breaking burden at the present time is that, in an age of such great opportunities, it goes to its work in the world without the goodwill of its own nation. It has not behind it the encouragement of feeling that it is doing what the nation wants done. The majority of the nation is hostile to its work abroad; and, what is of greater moment, the majority of professing church-people are indifferent to it. The income of the missionary societies is miserably inadequate to the world-wide policy to which they are committed. Growth of income there may have been,¹ but it in no way corresponds to the change

¹ The figures are :—

S.P.G.			C.M.S.		
Total Income.			Total Income.		
1901	.	£206,799	1901	.	£342,619
1902	.	152,530	1902	.	353,164
1903	.	158,642	1903	.	407,502
1904	.	154,154	1904	.	346,058
1905	.	191,957	1905	.	391,911

in national sentiment and outlook which dates from the great Imperial object-lesson of 1897; and the reason suggested is, that two lines of sentiment which are in their nature akin, and belong to one another, have hardly, as yet, been allowed to come in sight of one another. Missionary sentiment has been supposed to be one thing, and Imperial sentiment another. Missionary sentiment appeals only to a section even of the Christian Church; Imperial sentiment in some form or other is becoming more and more the common property of the race. How to bring the two into line with one another, so that they may work together as friends in their common task of "furthering the growth of humanity"? That is the task of the twentieth century.

(5) "We do not want an Anglican papacy." On that point we are all agreed; but loud-voiced protests will be of no avail, so long as we are content to drift into the very conditions which produced the papacy—ecumenical aims, combined with lack of adequate organisation to support a world-wide burden. Historically it has been the principle of national Churches which has been our own protection against the papacy; and though the principle may be more difficult to apply in the case of a nation which has for the "bounds of its habitation" an empire, and includes within itself daughter nations increasingly jealous of their own nationality, yet the contention of this paper is, that there is no reason to believe that we have outgrown the principle. Rather does our fault lie in not having applied it far

enough, and with sufficient regard to the limitations it implies. A Church cannot be both œcumenical and national. It must choose to be one or the other; it cannot be both. Nationality implies limitation both of territory and ideals. A nation is a people occupying a certain territory and standing for certain ideals of life. Some of these ideals it will share with other Christian nations—others are distinctively its own; and it is to these distinctive features that the believer in national Christianity looks with the greatest hope and interest, because he sees how much of its enlargement and enrichment Christianity owes to the production and conservation of these features within the sacred limits of national life.

God has entrusted to us as a nation certain great ideals. They have come to us through long and painful internal struggles. They have been watered with the blood of noble men. They have gained form and vitality under the pressure of struggles against external foes. They have been from first to last ennobled by the religion of Christ. At a certain period in their growth God opened to them a field of service larger in range and more varied in interest than any that men had previously seen in the history of the world. He placed under the rule of England millions of men in every stage of civilisation and culture.

To what end? Surely that within the bounds of the great habitation determined for her by God, England might work out fruitful experiments for the benefit of the whole world, trade with the

talents entrusted to her care, and put it to the proof whether her own tried ideals of justice and liberty had it in them to combine with the ideals of other races, to take root under other skies, to produce new types of character, new possibilities for human life, new nations; new churches.

Let the work that England is doing in India¹ and Egypt give us hope and courage as regards the nation; but what about the Church?

Has the Church shown herself truly national by identifying herself with the highest ideals of the nation? Has she by her work within the area of the empire earned the right to turn aside from her national task to others which, however interesting and inspiring they may be, are not the tasks which God in his providence has laid upon the Church of this land, if at least the history and development of the national life counts for anything in her outlook.

The impression which many of the papers in this volume must surely produce upon the reader, is, that so far from the work being accomplished, it has in many cases hardly been begun. The Victorian era responded nobly to the call if, but only if, its work be considered as a beginning. It laid down strong foundations for future work. It planned on a large scale. It covered the empire with a network of dioceses often far too large and unwieldy for present occupation, but witnessing to a generous confidence in the Church of the future. And the Church of to-day? is active but pre-occupied. Pre-occupied partly with ideals which—to say the least

¹ Cf. p. 103.

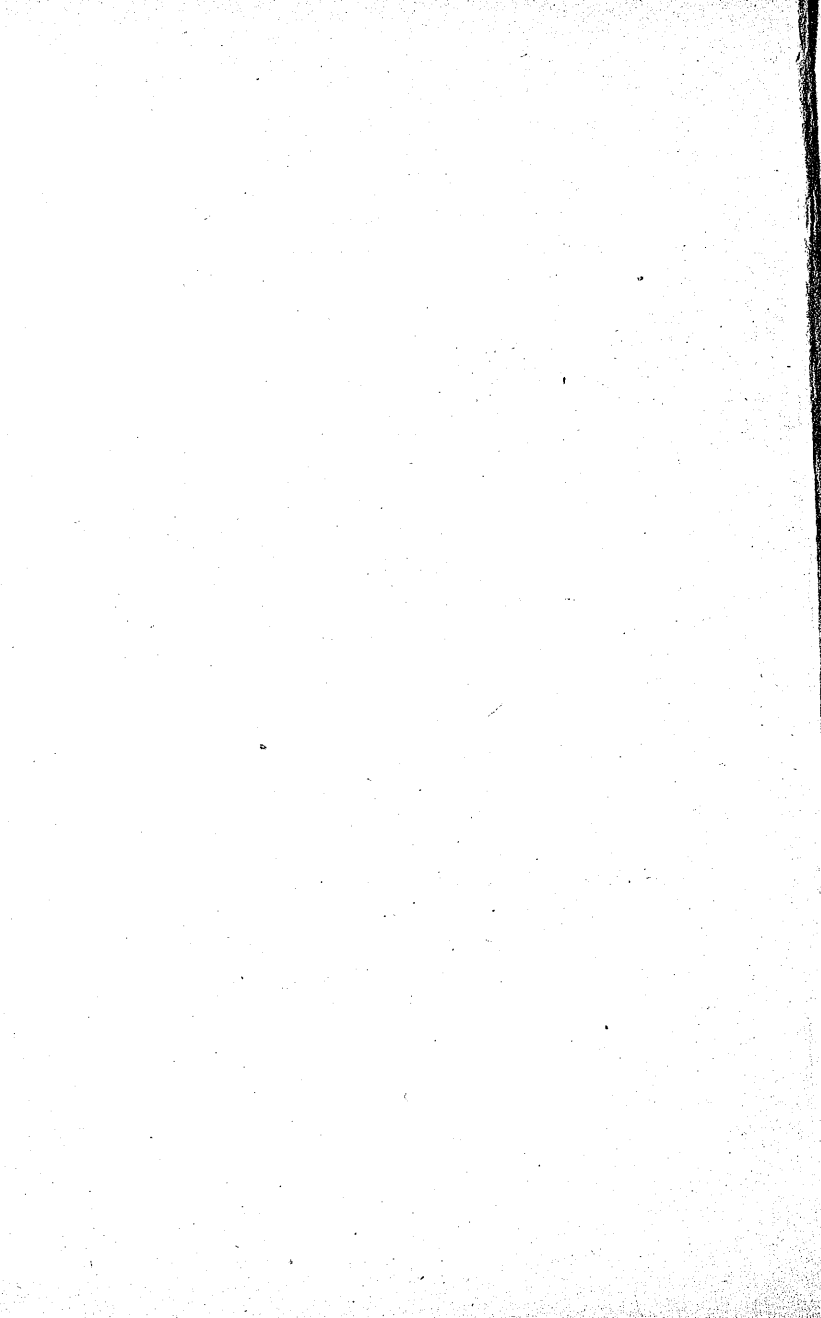
—do not tend in the direction of missionary enterprise; partly with great and worthy ideas for the conversion of the world to Christ, which fail only in this, that they are altogether beyond her present powers of execution, and have not the backbone of national purpose. And in the meantime the lines are unoccupied, or occupied only by skeleton forces; and out in the empire men of British birth, engaged in British work, are breaking their hearts for lack of men and money.

Something wants doing; and the question now submitted is, whether it is not possible round Bishop Westcott's master-thought of "Imperial duty," to create a new enthusiasm which shall find its inspiration in a definite effort to consecrate our national life, and to rouse both the nation at home, and the growing nations in the Colonies, to a new sense of the opportunities and responsibilities God has laid upon them along with the gift of national life. The writer believes that towards such a conception we are being led irrevocably by the trend of our national history, and notably by our contact with less civilised races. The disintegrating process by which ancient systems are going down before western civilisation, cannot go on for ever. The day must come for positive efforts at reconstruction. In that day the religion of Christ, unless it has lost its power of nation-building, must have an unique opportunity. The State must inevitably find itself looking for the help of spiritual power; and that Church will then show itself most truly national, which in these days of expectation has

made itself national by identifying itself with the highest ideals of the nation it serves, and proving itself worthy of the nation's confidence.

The hope which underlies this paper is, that the great gatherings of 1908 may not pass away without laying down the outlines of a policy which shall have for its aim the Christianisation of the British Empire.

Such a policy would place the nationality of the Church on a broad intelligible basis, and win for it the support and encouragement of all who care for the higher side of our national life. It would serve as a rallying point for other religious bodies within the empire, and tend in the direction of unity. It would divert the attention of Churchmen from less worthy aims and ambitions, by giving them an enterprise at once large, exacting, inspiring, and yet not too large for ultimate accomplishment; and to the younger clergy of the Church, and those who intend to enter her ministry, it would give that call which has never yet failed to supply men for the ministry of this island—the call of needs, and problems, and difficulties not self-sought, but attaching to the condition of things into which they were born; the call surely of the Christ who once appealed to men through the needs of the island, and now speaks to them no less clearly through the growing needs of the empire.



PART II
THE NEED OF ACTION



OUR INDIAN EMPIRE

By the Right Rev. G. A. LEFROY, D.D., Bishop
of Lahore.

ANY subject defined in terms of "empire" presents, to one who would deal with it from an Indian point of view, problems and difficulties of the gravest possible description.

Obviously, the place which India occupies—can occupy—in the British Empire differs most widely from that either of the home-land, or of the colonies which have been settled by the home-land's own sons and daughters.

In India we have, to all intents and purposes, no section of white colonists whatever. We have a tiny fraction of white population, civilians and military, representing British rule; and on the other hand the almost countless masses of the Indian peoples. How is it possible—how can we suppose for an instant—that the thought of the British Empire can ever appeal to these as it does to those of our own race, our own faith, our own colour, to whom "The Flag" appeals with a force begotten of generation after generation of loyal, patriotic, freedom-loving Britons; and to whom the sacred word "home" comes with all the associations

which from our infancy it has had for us? It plainly cannot be.

There may be some infinitesimal section of educated Indians who have in a certain degree realised the grandeur of the position which, by God's providence, the British Empire does occupy in the world to-day; whose imaginations are in some measure touched by the sense of what it means to have been called to a place in that great citizenship; to whom therefore the words, the thoughts, to which I am referring would faintly appeal. There may be some such, but so far as my own experience and belief goes, they are indeed few and far between; while even in their case the appeal must differ so wholly in its nature, the sentiment in its force, from what we ourselves feel, that it can scarcely be taken into serious account.

On the other hand, there is at the present time amongst those educated classes, evoked by ourselves, by our own system of liberal education, by the whole genius of British rule, by religious influences of many kinds, and by many other causes, a dawn of national, *i.e.* Indian, sentiment and of patriotic feeling which almost inevitably runs into more or less anti-English channels. To such sentiment the very word and thought of Imperialism is in the highest degree obnoxious. Nor is this altogether to be wondered at.

I have seen very little myself, since I came to years of manhood, of English life at home; but I know that very many of our best and most Christian thinkers, in whom the instincts of patriotism

and loyalty are most highly developed, look with the utmost apprehension on the spread at present amongst Englishmen of thoughts and phrases connected with the Empire and Imperialism. It was assuredly not without cause that the editors of this very volume, in their preliminary letter inviting contributors to join in the effort, referred to "that sentiment of empire which has never, as yet, been claimed for the highest ends, and which is therefore in danger of being degraded to low and selfish purposes." How immediate, how terribly great is that danger, is, I feel sure, best known to, and most clearly realised by, those who stand in closest touch with the underlying currents of home-life to-day, and who can best estimate the senses in which the average man uses to-day Imperial terms. When our great Cambridge teacher warns us against "that spirit of larger, deadlier, self-assertion, miscalled patriotism, which tempts us to think that the power of a nation is the power of dictation and not of service, and that every failure must be washed out in blood,"¹ who does not recognise that the warning is most urgently needed? And to India,² in her present temper, and with her present thoughts, disliking many features connected with English

¹ "Social Aspects of Christianity," by Bishop Westcott, 3rd edit., p. 142.

² In such a sentence, written for readers at home or in the Colonies, it is always well to give the reminder that "India" stands only for that educated class which forms the merest fraction—about 2 per cent.—of the teeming population of the land, and that the remainder have as yet no thoughts at all, or none accessible to us, on this or other kindred subjects.

rule ; resenting bitterly the claim of racial superiority which, on the English side¹ creates to-day so tremendous a gulf between ourselves and Indians in this great land ; feeling acutely the coldness, the reserve, the disagreeableness, in many aspects, of the English character, and its tendency to be domineering and overbearing ; to this India of the present day, thoughts and terms of " empire " connote all that is worst in that " larger, deadlier spirit of self-assertion, miscalled patriotism," and are proportionately disliked. So very pronounced indeed, just at present, is this feeling, that not a few able and thoughtful missionaries have come to think that the *disadvantages* arising from the connection of India with the British Empire actually outweigh, from the point of view of the evangelisation of the country, the *advantages* ; and that there would be a greater probability of a healthy and vigorous Indian Church being built up if India stood as entirely outside of the empire, and as independent of British control, as, *e.g.* China and Japan. I am not myself prepared to subscribe to this view. I personally believe that a number of indirect influences, making ultimately for the conversion of the land, are at work in consequence of our political connection with it, which would be wanting in its absence ; and that, for this reason and others into which I will not now enter, *on the whole*, the advantages of the present position outweigh, so far as

¹ *I say nothing here of the Indian side on which the same, or similar claims exist in at least equal force, though manifesting themselves in slightly different methods and with different applications.*

Englishmen can hold the scales in such a question the drawbacks; though I recognise to the full how much there is to be said on the other side. That such a question, however, should exist at all will probably be a startling revelation to many who have always assumed that the inclusion of India in the British Empire means the provision of innumerable facilities for the work of evangelisation, and is wholly on the side of gain and a matter for thankfulness. This it certainly is not "*wholly*."

From all this it follows that it is useless, in the case of one whose whole working life has been spent in this land, on whom its fascination grows from year to year, and whose utmost effort and desire it is to identify himself with it in all respects and measures that are possible and proper to an Irishman, to expect from him that kind of enthusiasm about our empire, or that treatment of the subject, which might come, naturally and instinctively, to those whose lot has been cast in the home-land or one of the great white colonies.

On the other hand, I do, in spite of all this, feel very deeply indeed the splendour—unique in the world's history and solemn beyond words—of the position to which, in the providences and by the guiding hand of God, the British Empire has been called in the world to-day. I believe that its privileges are unspeakably great, its opportunities of service to God and man boundless. I feel certain that thoughts and terms of empire have come to stay, and cannot—without at any rate some disaster of

overwhelming magnitude—be rooted up again from the English mind; and therefore I do long to be of those who are striving to deepen, in the national consciousness, the thought of all which that term, that position involves; and to emphasise it on the side of duties not of rights, of opportunities of service rather than of claims of privilege. Only in proportion as this is done, and done successfully, can this wave of "Imperial" thought mean for us and for our people anything but dire injury, the promoting of a hateful spirit of racial pride, alienating us from the rest of mankind and from the life of God.

Let me then try to indicate some of the ways in which I believe the growth of the British Empire and its clearer realisation in the minds of so very many Englishmen at the present time, *ought* to affect the question of our relation to India in some of its deepest aspects.

I. *Primary claim to Evangelisation as part of the Empire.*

For many years past I have held with the deepest possible conviction that the primary lines of activity for a national Church, in doing her part to carry out the great commission of St. Matt. xxviii. 19-20, are indicated for her by the direct Providence of God in the bringing into closest contact and relationship with her *some* of the great non-Christian races of the world in parts of the British Empire.

We know indeed that the commission is universal in its scope, addressed as it was to the universal

Church in embryo, and contained in itself no slightest hint of any such limitations, or spheres of interest, as those to which I now refer.

We know too, and perhaps may be glad of the knowledge, that there are many minds and hearts amongst us to which the introduction of any such subsequent limitations would be repugnant. Men of this temper will continue to strive to discharge the debt of their Christian obligation to all men, in all lands—or rather in those lands to which they have been individually attracted, perhaps by some purely personal and individual incident or attraction, or on some larger ground—regardless of any national lines of action whatever.

But is it possible to think that this is Christian statesmanship of at all the first order? If nationalities are in any true sense an arrangement, a gift, of God; if it is in accordance with His intention that mankind should be divided up into great natural sections; still more if national Churches, as the proper organ of the spiritual life of such sections, are in accordance with His will and design; is it conceivable that these facts should have no bearing on that supreme task of the evangelisation of the world which has been committed by our blessed Lord to His Church? It is inevitable that when some non-Christian race is thus brought into special contact with, by being included in the empire of, one of these great Christian nationalities, the effect of such contact should make itself felt in innumerable directions and with irresistible force. Can it be that from such directions that of the deepest life of

the nation, which centres round its religious belief and its conscious apprehension of God, is meant to be omitted?

It goes without saying that in all *other* departments of life, in matters educational, sanitary, engineering, &c., &c., we recognise towards such races a responsibility wholly and entirely different, alike in kind and in degree, from that which we accept towards races with which we have no such intimate relationship. Is it possible to exclude the religious life and influence of our nation from the same law? Or in this department of life alone is there to be no divinely appointed division of labour? It seems to me indubitable that the Providence of God in the forming of nations and kingdoms, and in bringing—as so notably in our own case—certain non-Christian nations within the special “sphere of influence” of the various great nations of Christendom, *must* have intended to allocate thereby to these various parts of the Church Catholic their respective spheres of primary duty in the mighty task of the winning of the world for Christ.

I do most earnestly hope that the time is at hand when, however much interest may be taken in, however much care and effort devoted to, the evangelisation of China, of Japan, or of any other great section of the human race which has *no* such vital and organic connection with ourselves, it will nevertheless be recognised that our obligations, as a national Church, towards the non-Christian portions of our own empire are altogether primary and stand on a quite peculiar footing by themselves.

And if this general principle be accepted, it is difficult to enumerate all the grounds on which it must be held to apply to India in an unique degree. Some of them are the following:—

(a) The wholly exceptional place which, in view of its ancient civilisations, its long history of thought, &c., &c., India necessarily takes amongst the countries which have thus been brought in as parts of our own empire.

This is obvious to all, and does not need to be laboured. But such peculiar conditions must, for all whose imaginations are in any degree sensitive, or who delight to trace the guiding hand of the God of History in the progress and development of *all* the nations of the world, constitute a quite special claim on our own Church, on our own missionary zeal.

(b) This last consideration is enhanced immensely by the recollection of the fact—now so frequently insisted on and so familiar to all of us—that those ancient civilisations, those great systems of thought and of life and of religious belief, are necessarily breaking up and passing away under the contact of our keener, more vigorous Western civilisation and thought. The significance and the solemnity of this appear to me to be as great as possible, but it scarcely seems necessary to dwell on the point at any length here. It may be remembered in passing that this break-up of the older life is not *primarily* the result of missionary work, or of any intended and conscious influence whatsoever, but simply of the contact of the stronger and more vigorous with

the weaker and more effete system of life; the railways — with their promiscuous and wholly unscientific classification of travellers on a purely financial basis—taking almost the leading share in the process. But what words can adequately depict the seriousness of such a state of things, the gravity of the issue which has to be faced? As the old passes away, in what mould is the new civilisation and life and thought of this marvellous old land to be cast—in that of materialism, or of a living faith in God?

Against the former alternative the whole of India's past life would seem to cry out in vehement protest; and most of us, I suppose, decline for an instant to believe that this *can* be the great and final outcome of our contact with this land. Assuredly were it to be so, a more terrible indictment could never be framed against our mother-land and our National Church than would thus lie against us at the bar of history and of God. That we had come to this land, had found it—amidst whatever terrible abuses and hideousness of belief and practice—had found it religious to the very core, had undermined that religious life, broken it up and made its further continuance impossible, and then, giving them no true and life-giving faith in its place, had left them to drift anchorless on the sea of materialism, alienated from God and without hope in the world,—from such a charge may God indeed of His infinite mercy preserve us!

And yet it has sorrowfully to be confessed that at present the influences making for materialism,

and the apparent movement of the educated classes in that direction, are—or appear to be—more and more forcible than those which make for the establishment of the kingdom of our Blessed Lord in the hearts of these people. I deplore very greatly the line of action and of teaching which is being taken by Mrs. A. Besant. I believe it to be in a high degree injurious to the best interests of this land which she loves. But if I appreciate aright the motive which impels her, I can confess to a very real degree of sympathy with it. For I myself believe that what has in the first place impressed her is the collapse of the old life of religious thought and observance in this land, and the threatened incoming of a flood of materialism. It is obviously on the merely external and materialistic side that our civilisation makes itself most immediately and most irresistibly felt in the land ; it is the tendencies in this direction that are unmistakably apparent to any one who attempts to look at all closely at what is going on in India at the present day. And seeing this, and shrinking intensely—as well she may—from such a prospect ; unable, alas ! to throw herself on to the side of replacing what is passing away by a true and living faith in Jesus Christ, Mrs. Besant, as I believe, has fallen back on the only other remedy that seemed possible, namely, to attempt to rehabilitate the old beliefs, the old philosophies of the East, to purge them in some degree of what is wholly unworthy, or at any rate of what is impossible in the presence of Western knowledge, and then to urge all who will listen to her to hold fast to that.

Most deeply as one must deplore the course thus adopted, its *motive* may yet command our very true sympathy, and we may and must admit that for her fears there are many very solid grounds indeed.

But surely in proportion to our recognition of the seriousness of such a position, is the call urgent on our own Church to make good her profession of belief in One who came "not to destroy but to fulfil," and Who alone can conserve all that is true and of divine origin in the past life and thought of this great land, and bring it to its true consummation and fruitfulness in Himself. We who are on the spot, know how incredibly inadequate has been the thought and effort as yet put into this great cause by our Mother Church, our Mother-land. We pray that the eyes of both may be opened, and their hearts touched to undertake in some more adequate degree this supremely solemn task, this most glorious privilege, which has thus been entrusted to them.

(c) India's claim on us is so supreme of itself, that we may almost hesitate to bring in secondary considerations; but surely it does need to be borne in mind what an extraordinary position of vantage for dealing with *all* the great non-Christian nations of the East has been secured to us by the inclusion of India in our empire, and how perfectly certain it is, that any deep religious impression produced on her must make itself felt in an infinite variety of ways throughout the whole East.

For us at any rate, and not for us alone, but

in many respects by necessary virtue of her own history and past life, she is indeed the key of the East. We remember that Buddhism arose in the very heart of India—that teaching which, though so wholly alien to our Blessed Lord's on one great side, yet surely reflects more truly than any other His mind and spirit in some other notable regards. And if Buddhism has to-day practically no place whatever in India proper, yet I suppose there is no system which is acknowledged by a larger number of the human race in the farther East, or which has more powerfully affected the whole of Eastern life and thought. Who then can set bounds to the possibilities of India's influence on China and Japan, and on all Eastern lands, if once she be quickened herself and reborn into the new life in Christ?

From a slightly different point of view, we know that only in India, at the present day, can the gospel secure a hearing—on any large scale—amongst Mohammedans. For the most part in Mohammedan lands, preaching or Christian teaching in any form is either altogether impossible or is laid under the most serious difficulties and disabilities. In India it has free course amongst all men. Once again, who can measure the responsibility which accompanies the possession of an opportunity such as this?

(d) On one other, in some sense, secondary consideration, I must shortly touch, and that is, what it will mean to the thought and faith of the whole Church of Christ when the best

treasures of India's life and wisdom, her powers of self-sacrifice and asceticism, of deep thought, of patient service, of unreserved acceptance of the will of God, of whole-hearted devotion to a divine call, are brought in and laid at the feet of Jesus Christ owned as her Lord and her God.

This is a thought on which more than one of our greatest recent teachers have loved to dwell.

For the completion of humanity we know that the characteristic gifts, endowments, capacities, of each of the great members of the race should be, not obliterated, but brought together and harmonised under the operation of the one Holy Spirit acting on the various members of the Body of Christ. It is one of the essential marks of the true City of God that "the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it" and that "they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it"; and it is impossible for any one to have life contact with India, and to strive to enter in any degree by sympathy into touch with her true, her better self, without seeing how *very* much she has thus to bring into the common store.

What we may expect from her on the side of thought is, I think, sufficiently indicated by the very striking remark attributed, I believe correctly, to Bishop Westcott—that he did not think the Gospel of St. John would be properly understood till the intellect of India, become Christian, was brought to bear upon it—or words to that effect; and remember that this was from the teacher whose favourite study in the New Testament was that

fourth Gospel, and who had done more than any one else in recent years to interpret and make clear to his disciples its profound lessons.

Again on the side of character she has scarcely less to bring. Especially may her contribution be regarded as supplementing some of the weakest sides of our own English temperament and character. Her gentleness, patience, courtesy, and delicate social charm in many directions, are the very antithesis of the coldness and hardness and reserve of Englishmen, and of that tendency to be overbearing and dictatorial which is kept more or less in check under the conditions of home-life, but manifests itself with great rapidity and sadly wide generality in the East. They are, too, the very antithesis of those many curiously unpleasant traits to which our own eyes are, perhaps, inevitably closed, but which are fully appreciated by Easterns, and are recognised even by Americans or others of the European peoples who are brought into close contact with us.

When to India's need of us and of the message which, by God's goodness and providence, we are in a position to bring to her, we add the need which we ourselves have of her and of what she can bring to our Christian life, is it not strange that the imagination of our Church and nation has on the whole been so very faintly kindled to high and worthy effort for bringing her into the allegiance of Christ?

2. *Claim of our Fellow-countrymen, especially
of the Army.*

It is, I hope, coming to be more and more clearly recognised, and assuredly it cannot be proclaimed too often, that "the Christian life is the proper evidence of the Christian faith."¹ This is in a special degree true of India where a sufficient number of English people are present to form "object-lessons" in the power and value of the faith they profess; and they, moreover, most emphatically like cities "set on a hill," in positions of importance and prominence out of all comparison with their numerical proportion. All the world over practice is better than precept; and it is inevitably by the standard and tone of English life in the country, that in the long run the land will be won to, or repelled from, the faith of our Risen Lord.

Nor can we complain of the application of a fact which has the express authority of Him who has said "by their fruits ye shall know them." So much is this the case, that one may undoubtedly say that, if the lives of all white men (for be it ever remembered that to the native of India white man and Christian are practically synonymous) were really true to the religion of Christ, preaching of the Gospel would be superfluous, for the country would very soon be won — rather would long since have been won — to the faith we profess;

¹ Bishop Westcott's "Social Aspects of Christianity." Notice to second edition.

while, on the other hand, if those lives were wholly and utterly unworthy of, and false to that religion, preaching would be useless, for no amount of verbal testimony could overcome the antagonistic impression which such lives would produce. It is because, in this as in most things in this world, neither the one nor the other of these two conditions exists in its entirety, and because the Christian lives lived out here to-day are neither wholly white nor wholly black, that such ample scope, and urgent need, exists, for more preaching and every other possible form of evangelistic agency.

But still the fact remains that more than any other single factor, the "object-lesson" of English lives in India will tell in the decision of the supreme issue.¹ How enormously important therefore it becomes, and important scarcely less from a purely missionary point of view, than from that of primary regard for the lives and souls of our countrymen that the home Church should be fully awake to her immense responsibilities in connection with the shepherding of her own sons and daughters scattered so widely—often in such terrible isolation—over the great reaches of this land. It is because I am in charge of the diocese which has in it a larger number of British troops than any other in the empire, that I want more especially to draw attention to the urgency of this question, as it concerns the provision of spiritual ministrations for these troops. Think what it means to myself

¹ Cf. p. 92.

and others who are longing for the extension of our Lord's kingdom in this land. In the diocese of Lahore—which, in addition to the Punjab, includes the North-West Frontier Province, Beluchistan, and Sindh, and, in somewhat less close connection, Kashmir and the Persian Gulf—there are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, at the present time about 38,000 European residents, and of this total no less than 26,000 are officers or men serving with the colours, while about 3000 more are intimately connected with the army as belonging to the families of these officers or men. In other words, it results from our political connection with India that, in the case at any rate of this particular diocese, the “object-lesson” to which I have referred as of such supreme, such final, influence and importance, consists, in a proportion of three out of every four white men, of British soldiers. Has the home Church at all adequately realised that fact, or its full bearing on the question of the evangelisation of this land? I am very far indeed from saying or implying that such men are not fitted to represent the faith which they profess, or that the influence of their example is always on the wrong side. I am second to none in my admiration and thankfulness to God for many splendid soldierly lives—Christian in the highest and best sense—which have been lived amongst us, notably up here in the Punjab, in the past, and for many such which are being lived to-day. On the other hand, it would be affectation and unreal to disguise the tremendous

difficulties which do also attend the presentation of our faith to great non-Christian races in this particular method, by this particular agency. Any one in the least degree cognisant of the difficulties which beset Christian work in any of our large garrison towns at home, can perfectly well understand how real and how many they must be out here.

And what is the remedy for this—so far at any rate as any true remedy lies within the power of our Mother Church? Surely this, that she should in the first place realise the gravity of this position, and strive more earnestly, by much fervent intercessory prayer to strengthen and shield from evil the lives of her own sons thus, in the interests of the empire, planted down under conditions which of necessity make it extremely difficult to maintain a true Christian manhood, in the case of those who are exposed to the innumerable temptations of great eastern cities. In the second place, the Church should see to it that as full a supply as possible of really first-rate men is maintained for ministering to these troops. Neither of these duties is, I think, at present at all adequately fulfilled. Though we can thank God for many earnest and effective lives of chaplains lived out here in our midst to-day, yet I certainly do not think that the importance of this particular field of ministry, the opportunities it presents, and the possibilities open to it, are at all adequately realised in the home Church, or that, in consequence, she is sufficiently careful in the stamp of men that she sends to it. For assuredly

here, if anywhere, we need the *very best*. Any one who has worked among soldiers knows that this is so, for nowhere is there a more ready response to any really true, large-hearted, and self-denying work that may be put in amongst them, than is met with from the rank and file of the British Army; while nowhere is there a more healthy detestation of cant and humbug, or of unreality or inconsistency of life in any form whatever, a quicker eye to detect it, and a more remorseless refusal to be led, in spiritual matters, by one in whom such traits are discerned.

I do therefore desire to affirm with all the force in my power that the work of chaplains on the ecclesiastical establishment in India is of the highest possible importance, and presents as splendid spiritual opportunities for men who are true lovers of souls as any field of ministry in the world; and I desire to call attention in the strongest possible manner to the urgency of our need for the very best of England's sons—men duly qualified in body and soul, and called and sent by the Holy Spirit Himself—for this work. To show how inadequately the need is recognised at the present time, I may say that now for nine months two vacancies have existed in this diocese, and have remained unfilled, not from any fault of the India Office, which, so far at any rate as my experience goes, is honestly desirous of assisting the bishops in this matter, but because, after two men were rejected on grounds of medical unfitness for the work, *no suitable candidates were known to the Secretary of State*. I confess

that such a state of things is almost incomprehensible, even if viewed merely from the side of worldly advantage; for it cannot be questioned that, on this side, the position of an Indian chaplain offers many and marked advantages as compared with the *average* career of clergymen at home. It is strange that this is not more clearly recognised, and that more candidates are not, in consequence, forthcoming for these posts. But this is the very last ground on which I should wish men to come to this work, and I refer to it merely to show that certainly no insuperable *difficulties* exist in the choice of this career by men who are otherwise well fitted for it, and it is such alone that we desire to see added to our ranks.

I can scarcely imagine a more tangible and practical form which the keener realisation of the tremendous responsibilities imposed on us, and the opportunities opened out to us by our imperial position could take, than the more adequate provision in the future of such men for the work of the Church in India; and it has been largely in order to emphasise this need, and to appeal with utmost earnestness for its due supply, that I have consented to contribute this chapter to a work on "Church and Empire."

THE CLAIMS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE ON THE CHURCH, AS SEEN IN BURMA, AND AS MET BY THE CHURCH.

By the Right Rev. A. M. KNIGHT, D.D., Bishop of
Rangoon.

I DESIRE to put in this chapter the claims of India, as represented by Burma, upon the Church at home, and to show how far those claims are being met, and to end with a few suggestions.

Although Burma differs from India in three important points, viz., in being free from fear of famine, and indeed in being rich in all that the Burmese in his "natural" condition desires, in being free from caste, and in laying no "purdah" restrictions upon its women, yet from the fact of its incorporation into the Indian Empire arise, as I believe, claims on the Church's energies, and problems which call for solution, similar to those which will be found in India.

These special characteristics of Burma are due to the great fertility of the country, and to the almost universal acceptance of Buddhism.

It is the largest province in area, and the youngest in age. Thus distances are great, and railways few. And this must be borne in mind when attempting

to estimate how far the Church meets the claims. At home pastoral work can occupy many hours of a week, and travelling fills only a few. Here of necessity travelling makes enormous demands on time and physical strength, and the time which remains for pastoral labour is proportionately reduced.

The area of the province of Burma is a little less than twice that of Great Britain.

On arriving at Rangoon, the capital of Burma, the Christian soon sees the main outlines of the Church's work. Though he is told that there are forty languages and more spoken in the province, and as many races, yet it is sufficient first to see that here, as in India, there are British, Eurasians, and Natives. The first named number from eight to nine thousand; the second form another body of the same size; the natives number in round figures ten millions.

I. THE BRITISH IN BURMA. IN WHAT RESPECTS DO THEY CALL FOR THE CARE OF THE CHURCH?

They are few, and they live among many natives. In this simple fact lies the peculiar force with which, I believe, their needs make a special claim on the Church. *For they are at once more tempted, and more influential than at home.*

This I desire to press on the minds of any who may read these pages, with all the power that I can. It is easy to dismiss the subject with the remark that many a parish in Great Britain con-

tains more British than all Burma. But no intelligent loyalty to Christ and to His teaching about "sheep" and "shepherds" will so dismiss it.

I turn to make good my point.

*A. The British Residents in Burma are more
tempted than at home.*

Though Buddhism has many excellent precepts and produces some high types of character, yet on the English resident the influence of the moral atmosphere of the country is exceedingly strong and harmful.

(a) We all owe much to the expectations which our society makes of us. If great things are expected of us, great things we attempt. But in such a country as this, although in honesty, integrity, truthfulness, justice, and generous kindness to the subjects of the empire, the British character stands high and fills me with admiration, yet in many vital matters a man can sin here without feeling that he is disappointing the expectations of persons whose opinion he respects. They are not at hand to see him.

This in itself is a terribly strong temptation to moral laxity, and many have fallen before it. Yet when I consider what is involved in living for most of each month, with none but non-Christians and those of subject races about you, I deeply sympathise.

This is a land of which it has been said that there are no ten commandments. If that is true

for British residents, it is because they have not printed those ten commandments on their hearts; and in part, a great part, because the Church has not sent the men, and the right men, to proclaim them.

(b) But besides the temptation which comes from the lack of Christian society, there are many others, of which I select one, viz., the trial of religious convictions.

At home in nine cases out of ten, the ordinary boy has imbibed the idea that natives are "poor perishing heathen" in the view of the Christian, and the heathen religions utterly worthless.

He comes to Burma and finds a contented, happy people, who are apparently by no means thirsting for the Gospel. Indeed, contact with Western civilisation, *i.e.* as he thinks, contact with Christianity, does them little good, if any.

He must readjust his beliefs with regard to the relation of the Gospel to the heathen. His old ideas have received a severe shock, and only too often there is no true readjustment, but only a general loosening of the hold which the faith has on him. That the Gospel alone can satisfy the needs of man, he has been rightly taught; but here is a whole race satisfied, it seems, with something else. Can the faith of his fathers be so true and so binding on him as he once thought?

This is, I believe, a very severe temptation, and a fruitful source of the common idea that Christianity is "all right" for Western races, and non-Christian religions "all right" for Eastern. But when once a

man holds this view, he ceases to feel the purifying restraint of Christianity. He *knows* in his heart that Christianity flatly contradicts his idea. Yet he has got that idea, and it tells on him—for evil.

(c) While thus exposed to severe temptations unknown at home, he finds himself strangely free from the restraints, as he may sometimes term it, or as we more rightly will express it—strangely and suddenly deprived of the many aids to Christian life which ample Church ministrations lavished on him when at home.

There the land is covered with the buildings, and full of the machinery, organizations, and agents of Christian bodies. Turn where you will you are reminded of the Faith. There is a veritable luxury of Christian monitors and religious ministrations. Indeed the Englishman is encouraged to believe that a failure in worship or in Christian living is to some extent excusable if the Church is a mile distant, or the clergyman seldom visits him.

After this preparation, he finds himself in a land where evidences of Christianity are almost entirely wanting, except in the few larger towns. In most cases some considerable time is spent in more or less complete isolation from Christian society, and still more from Christian ministrations. In full force the special temptations make their attack at a time when the Church apparently has deserted him.

To pass from Great Britain to the East is in many ways like changing from a light which shows up all the shame of sin to a darkness which covers it: like changing from a garden full of spiritual aids to a

desert full of temptation. Certainly it brings to light the real man and his Christianity, revealing how far it is his own, and how far it was borrowed unconsciously from others.

It is a mistake to hold that men in such a position make for their own sakes a special appeal to the Church for a "shepherd's" care. When I reflect how greatly our Church has failed to carry out her Lord's expressed will with regard to "shepherding," I cease to wonder that her laymen left alone, unshepherded, fail to carry out His will with regard to Christian living, and do untold harm to the cause of Christ among the thousands of non-Christians who watch the white man and silently "weigh his God and him."

B. The British in Burma are more influential than at home.

When the subject of retirement comes up it is often remarked that it means for the Government official a "tremendous fall." And the remark illustrates and enforces my point. For it means that here he is, in his way, a little king over many subjects. A Deputy Commissioner, for example, rules some three hundred thousand natives. But retired, and at home once more, he is to others merely an Anglo-Indian with a bad liver, a good pension, and strange stories of dacoits and tigers.

The truth is that any white man, and especially any Englishman, is here a marked personage. But for our purpose it is important to notice that he is

marked as a representative of the white man's religion, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He is, perhaps unconsciously, yet in truth, a teacher, representing, or misrepresenting, the faith of Christ: and this to thousands.¹

There are perhaps in Burma, scattered far and wide, two hundred ministers of all the various Christian bodies. But more is learned by the natives from the eight thousand British laymen and women, and the eight or nine thousand Eurasians who are all Christian and speak one tongue.

In Burma the Briton is inevitably a powerful teacher. The Church at home has realised the influence which in any school is exercised by the teacher. *Now India is a great school* formed by one nation, and the teachers in it are the British residents. If in a village school at home the Church is called to see that the teacher is himself a good Christian, that among the many lessons taught in the school is included the faith of our Lord, what shall be said of the Church's responsibility with regard to the vast school of our Indian Empire? And what in particular of her responsibility with regard to her own sons who are the teachers in it?

We have founded our school and compelled the peoples to attend and to listen, even though we cannot compel them to drink in the lessons. The teachers are engaged in laying before the scholars almost the whole of our Western ideas. Consciously or unconsciously they do this every moment of their residence in India. Their pupils are never absent,

¹ *Of.* p. 81.

and every word or deed of an Englishman is an object-lesson to many. Three hundred millions of pupils, our British brethren the only teachers—what an opportunity they have, and what a responsibility rests upon their Church for doing her utmost to keep these teachers true to the Master!

How far the pupils assimilate the instruction is an interesting and difficult question. Superficial changes are soon made. Others take longer, and nations need centuries to learn such lessons as a new conception of justice, unless they are gifted as our Indian peoples are not. But the teaching is having its effect, and other lessons are being learned besides such easy and superficial ones as how to use a railway, or to wear a Western dress.

Yet it is not necessary to discuss this. It is enough to point out that India is a vast school, built up by ourselves, and that *our fellow-British in the country are the teachers*. Can any Christian doubt that our Church has, in her opportunities of shepherding these teachers, a great talent, for her use or abuse of which she will one day have to render a full account?

We used at Cambridge to maintain that the call to clergy to work in the University was one of the highest, and most imperatively demanded obedience, because to work there was to work among the future teachers of large numbers, among men who, in the majority of cases, would exercise a wide influence in our nation. Why should the call to work in India be less regarded?

C.—*The Eurasian Population.*

I have as yet barely mentioned a large body of Christians who throughout India call loudly for help. I mean the Eurasians. Here in Burma they are as numerous as the pure-blooded Europeans. They are all Christians, the majority being of the Roman communion. They are here to stay, and their numbers grow. They have to meet all the temptations of a heathen atmosphere, and often those, alas! of heathen relatives. On the one hand they stand apart themselves from the natives, and on the other their advances are only too often repelled by the British.

Yet not a few have risen to positions of influence and trust in spite of enormous difficulties, but this is achieved generally by those *to whom has been given a good education and a father's care.*

Wise Christian education, close intercourse with the best types of Christian Europeans; this is what the Church should give them. And the education of many of their children lies entirely in our hands.

They too, like the Englishman from home, though with a much reduced influence, represent to the non-Christians the Gospel of Christ.

The Government of India sees their value and is giving especial care to their education. For example, the last twelve months have seen the issue of a new code, and the allocation of large funds for this purpose by the Government. But the Church: what care does it show? How many intelligent Church-

men who take an interest in the Indian Empire know what "Eurasian" means? How many are aware of the claims which these sheep of Christ make on the true pastors? They stand by themselves separated by wide gulfs from the native and the British. Will the Church care for these fellow-servants of Christ?

Such, in brief, are the claims made on the Church at home by the Europeans in India. I believe them to be of the greatest urgency, and therefore I write.

But this part of my paper may fittingly be closed by a quotation from the appeal issued by ten laymen of long experience in Burma.

In 1904, during one of those many periods when for months together one or more of our huge "parishes" are left shepherdless, I asked a leading laymen to assist me by getting an appeal drawn up and signed by a few representative Churchmen. It was easily and quickly done. None who were asked declined to sign, I believe, and many more than the ten who were asked would have joined in it.

I quote a part of their appeal for clergy:—

"The English-speaking population . . . have, we believe, special claims on our Church, for two weighty reasons:—

"1. They have resided previously in England, and have been accustomed there to ample Church ministrations. Here in many parts of the country they have none. In others they depend solely on the chaplains.

"Passing as they do from the Christian atmosphere of Great Britain to the non-Christian surroundings

of this country with their peculiarly strong temptations, these members of our Church deserve increased, and not, as is threatened, diminished clerical ministrations.

"2. Here the white men represent to the native Burman the religion of Jesus Christ.

"They are the rulers, the judges, the leaders of commerce. Their influence is very great. Therefore, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the non-Christian natives, the need of capable clergy is most urgent. . . . We are convinced by long experience that for earnest men there is a field of most urgent need."

I turn now to the question:

D.—*How far is the Church meeting the needs of these two classes, the British and the Eurasians?*

In one respect a great deal is done by the Government and the laity here and in India. Money for not inadequate stipends of fourteen posts is provided in Burma. Thus, for seven stations where the European residents and troops¹ are most numerous, there are "Government chaplaincies." There the Government provides stipends and churches, and, in all cases but one, keeps the churches in repair. For *seven* others, called "chaplaincies of the Additional Clergy Society," the Government provides about half of the very moderate stipend, the laity give the rest. The Government contributes, in varying degrees according to the number of its

¹ See Note III.

servants resident in the stations, towards church building and repair.

In other words, the laity feel and acknowledge the need of the Church's ministrations.

This conclusion is supported by the old and excellent tradition (the life of which depends largely on the devotion and capacity of the clergy) in accordance with which the official who is at the head of a station reads Morning Prayer on Sunday in church when he is in his headquarters. And in addition there are not a few lay readers, whose most valuable services deserve cordial recognition. In striking contrast to this readiness on the part of the laity stands the fact that few clergy are willing to come out to these distant parts.

Speaking of Burma and the diocese of Rangoon, I do not consider that a very large increase of the number of chaplains is urgently demanded. The most pressing need is that the posts already established should be filled, and well filled.

In former days, in the eighties, and for some time later, there was something like competition to secure the better paid Government chaplaincies. It is not altogether to be deplored that a great change has taken place. But the Church at home, and by this I mean the clergy in particular, seem to be in ignorance of the nobility of the opportunities of service which these posts offer. As things are at present, practically no suitable clergy offer themselves; only after long searching can we fill posts.

Let me give the experience of three years and a half.

Government Chaplaincies.—I have known of three vacancies. For the first there was no one who had offered his services either to the India Office or myself or my commissary. After long searching one was secured. At the time of the second vacancy, two names were put forward of clergy willing to serve, but each was utterly unfitted for so important a charge. For the third, I nominated one of the clergy already at work here. I knew of no one else available.

I desire with all my heart to emphasise the truth that these Government chaplaincies offer a magnificent field for earnest ministry among the men who make the empire, and their subordinates and the soldiers who hold the peoples in subjection: among the men whom I have spoken of in the previous pages. They offer time and means to study Eastern problems, to help all branches of Church work here, where the advance of the Church is to be made; and they allow the man whose heart is fired with loyalty to Christ abundant opportunities for encouraging and assisting the very hard-worked missionaries of our societies.

In particular, with regard to "missionary" work, the Europeans whom these chaplains serve can be and should be the most powerful missionaries in the land. Whether they rise to their vocation depends largely on the clerical ministrations which they receive.

The work of a chaplain is hard, the temptations to "slackness" are many, but let no man say that the opportunities are less than magnificent. Yet

for this glorious work scarcely any of our clergy volunteer.

The Government has lately increased the stipends. I am glad, for Government ought to set the lead in adequate payment of all kinds of work. Moreover, knowing the need of clergy, the late Secretary of State wrote a letter to the Bishop of London which the Bishop published, in which the need of clergy was stated, and an account of the work and emoluments given.

But I am convinced that what is needed is fuller knowledge of the opportunities of noble service which these posts offer. All the work of the Church must suffer, and does suffer most evidently, so long as the ministry to the rulers and teachers of the subject peoples of our empire is inadequate.

All that I have said of Government chaplaincies applies to the other class of chaplaincies, namely those of the Additional Clergy Societies which are to be found over all India, with the exception that such posts contain few troops and more Eurasians.

But what has the Church done to seize the opportunities given by these posts and turn them to good account in her Master's service? I answer as my experience directs.

In 1891, after Upper Burma had been annexed, the Government and laity saw that more clergy would be required as Europeans flocked into the new country. Two new chaplaincies were formed. One of these has remained unfilled for fifteen years in spite of all efforts, though I rejoice to say that it will be filled before this year closes.

For another, in Rangoon itself, for eighteen months we did all that lay in our power to find a suitable man who would come out for three, four, or five years only. All was in vain. A priest who had volunteered to give his life to missionary work had to be placed in charge there.

At this moment at which I write, out of the fourteen chaplaincies for work among Europeans, six are vacant—42 per cent. Of these we fill four by adding them to the cure of other clergy already hard worked. Two remain unfilled, the nearest priest being 250 and 350 miles respectively. I rejoice that four of these vacancies will be filled by the end of the year, but, if all are filled then, the duration of the vacancies will have been fifteen years in one case, nine months (two posts), six months (two posts), and two months (one post). And, judging by experience, I expect that the duration of two vacancies will be much longer.

In an English diocese of a hundred parishes this would mean that forty-two had no vicars. Of these, twenty-eight were served by vicars of neighbouring parishes; seven had a monthly visit from a distant priest; seven had none at all.

It will be at once remarked that steps should be taken to secure a "spare" man, a Diocesan Missioner. Let me add that this is done by means of the Bishop supporting two chaplains (private), but that these posts are almost equally hard to fill.

I feel convinced that the clergy at home have only to learn and realise the needs and opportunities of work here, to accept a call from an Indian Bishop

as readily and more readily than they accept a call to work in a new post in England—more readily, because the leaving of “home” is something of a “cross,” and not a light one, and therefore the “call” is clearer.

When we turn to the vital question of *Eurasian Education*, the need of our Church to awake, and repent and amend, and imitate the devotion of other Christian bodies is again seen to be urgent. As I have said, the Government shows great care for this work, and supplies large monies. The Roman Catholics staff their large and efficient schools excellently by means of the Teaching Brothers, and nuns.

In one (girls') school alone in Rangoon, there are seven Roman Catholic European teachers. In the corresponding boys' school there are more. In all our Church of England schools for Eurasians we have only six British teachers, including men and women. No wonder we are being swept off the field of education.

Again, if we turn to the general care of young men and women in our big towns, we see flourishing and excellent Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. institutions, doing noble work, but we of the Church of England, who were in the field long before them, have lost it because we lacked the men and women and money, because we had not sufficient devotion and self-sacrifice to supply the needs of these sheep of the Great Shepherd.

It is not pleasant to write thus. It is much more pleasant to reflect that there is hope of better

things. I often wonder at the courage of those who laboured here in still darker days. But it is useless and base to hide the facts, that the Church has extraordinary opportunities and calls, but seems to ignore them.

I trust that I have made it clear that the efforts made to "keep the white man Christian" have been, while not inadequate in matters of money, most deplorably below the standard which is to be desired of followers of Christ, Who gave Himself.

II. THE MISSION FIELD AND EVANGELISTIC WORK AMONG NATIVE RACES.

I have no hesitation in speaking in strong terms of the neglect by the Church at home of the calls and opportunities which Burma presents, *facit indignatio*.

First I take the opportunities and calls.—We occupied Lower Burma in 1852, and Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma in 1885, and the occupation has made the inhabitants our fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor, and put them all into our vast *School* of the Indian Empire. As Mr. Fielding Hall in his last work has called them, the Burmese are now a "Nation at School." But it is we who have made the school, we who have forced them into it, and we who are the teachers.

It is just in this fact that the imperative and special call is to be found. We have a general commission to preach the Gospel to all nations, but we must begin at Jerusalem, and for us the

British Empire is our "Jerusalem," or at least our "Samaria."

To me it seems that the path of empire has brought the British nation to the spot where the Burman (or Indian) is lying, maimed by the poverty of his false ideas. The nation, the Government, cares for and tends him nobly in its own way.¹ But the Church? She seems barely aware of his existence, or else her passing by on the other side must win a terrible condemnation.

The school is opened, and is open to the Church.—The lessons are already being most vigorously given. At the point of the sword we British are teaching such new lessons as (1) peace: the Burman may no longer fly at the throat of the neighbouring hill man; (2) justice: whether liked or not, our Western ideas and our Western methods of justice are taught in every village. This is, indeed, new and important instruction. But more than this, our commerce floods the land, and brings with it (3) new ideas and uses of money; (4) creates new material needs, and new and terribly strong temptations, such as those of Western spirits sold in licensed shops. (5) A better lesson is the noble one of the character of the British ruler: just, generous, energetic, untouched by bribes, extraordinarily careful for his subjects' welfare. If space allowed I would gladly dilate on this magnificent and new object-lesson.

But co-operating with courts of law, with Western trading companies, which bring in the Western

¹ Cf. p. 59.

houses, clothes, machines, carriages, motor-cars, *et hoc genus omne*, backed up by a liberal Government purse, directed by picked University men, is a vast system of Education. The Burman springs at this in his desire to learn, and learn he does. In the villages the monks are beginning to teach the Government syllabus of (6) Western knowledge, even such truths as the roundness of the world's form, although their popular Buddhism stoutly affirms that it is flat. Schools of all kinds, Buddhist, Anglican, Roman, Baptist, the Government encourage, provided that the "secular" instruction satisfies its inspectors.

In these ways here in the youngest province, as in the oldest, almost all our Western life and knowledge is being laid by us before the Burman. Surely he is our neighbour in a very real sense; and as surely the Church has an imperative duty to perform in the land. Week by week as the mail brings us our English newspapers, I have noticed the discussion of the question of how far the native demand for a share in government is real and is to be granted. Representative government, and a share in it;—why, the bare fact that Indians know of such a form of government is a sign of the closeness of our contact with India, and of the many lessons we are teaching.

But our empire, our contact with the peoples of Burma, has established not only a large school of Western life and ideas, but *has opened the doors of a great school where Buddhism is learnt* by thousands who kept from it in the past. I mean this. We

have enforced the *Pax Britannica*, and the feuds between the Buddhist Burman who lives in the plains and the "animist" or "spirit-worshipper" of the hill tribes are at an end.

Down from the cold hills comes the hill man, and he finds in the plains not only fertile lands and easy livelihood, but also the superior civilisation of the Burman, and the attractive and easy Buddhism. He takes the Burmese dress, many Burmese customs, and the Burmese religion, Buddhism. And once this change is effected, the Church's efforts to win him to Christ become ten times less effective than in the days when he was still the worshipper of spirits.

"You must go up to the Chins in the hills," said a young Cambridge man, now a Deputy Commissioner, to me last month, "if you are to get hold of them. You won't win them in the plains. There they are Buddhist already."

"Buddhism is making more rapid progress in Burma than Christianity," said the agent of the Bible Society in his report two years ago.

"The most pressing work for the Church in the mission field of Burma is to evangelise the hill tribes before they turn Buddhist," was the strong contention of our most experienced missionary at a recent conference.

If Christ is not preached in this most promising field, the Buddha will be, and the result is certain.

But my point here is, that it is we who have brought this to pass. And accordingly it is we who ought to strain every nerve to present Christ to those peoples at the crisis of their history, when

change their religion they will, and the only question is, "Shall the change be to Christianity or to Buddhism?"

Thus our empire is making great changes in the plains and the hills, and to the Church of the empire comes a special call to seek those "other sheep" that they may be of His flock, and not of another's.

Which will they hear, Gaudama's Law, or the Gospel of our Lord?

What part, then, is the Church taking in this large school of nations? How far is she providing that, among the Western lessons taught should be the worldwide lesson of the Gospel of the Son of Man, and that this truth should permeate all truths which are now being taught by us here in the East?

Whether she has done her part more or less vigorously in Burma than in the rest of the Indian Empire, I will not attempt to estimate.

I have spoken of her efforts to "keep the white man Christian." I now give some figures which indicate her efforts to win the native to Christ; and as indicating in part what might be done, I give figures of other Christian bodies.

The Roman Catholics of the Continent send few to trade, and none to rule in Burma; but such is their obedience to the commands of Christ, that there are 212 (priests, laymen, and nuns) at work among the natives and Eurasians.

America again sends few to trade, and none to rule, but there are 177 (ministers, laymen, single and married women) of the Baptist Mission.

Great Britain sends 8000 to trade and rule and teach, but for the evangelisation of those whom we rule, we have given—not 200, nor 100, nor 50, but 32.¹

Let me add that from Great Britain has come a Wesleyan Mission to Upper Burma. They have nobly outstripped us. To-day we have there two missionary clergy; the Wesleyans have eight.

All honour to these other servants of the one Lord, but what of our own Church? Is it an honourable record? I trow not.

Let me give briefly a few detailed instances of our working.

At Mandalay in 1888 was Dr. Marks of the S.P.G.—a missionary able to speak the language. Soon he had persuaded the Burmese king to build church, clergy house, and school. In 1885 we took Upper Burma, and placed it in our Imperial “school.”

¹ It is not easy to give exact figures, because the changes even in so small a staff are frequent. But the figure 32 includes all clergy, laymen, women (married and single), who are engaged in work among natives and Eurasians. I have included those who work in schools for Eurasians, because I think such workers are also included in the figures given for Roman Catholics and Baptists. Without them the number would be 26. Lest the total numbers should seem large, let me point out that the number of *ministers* of all bodies working among all races in Burma to-day is about 200; and that in proportion to the population of Great Britain that number would be represented by 800 ministers of all bodies instead of the 30,000 or more now at work in Great Britain. Moreover the area of Burma is so much greater that to form an adequate conception, it is necessary to picture those 800 ministers scattered over a country twice the size of Great Britain, *i.e.* the distance of each minister from his nearest ministerial neighbour must be doubled.

What did the Church do for this new pupil-race? Efforts indeed were made, but when I visited Mandalay in 1903, I found that the staff was no larger than it was thirty-five years before: that the one missionary was not able to speak Burmese, and this, not because he was a recruit from England, but because he had been taken from the Mission to the Karens, whose tongue he knew. Need I add that I heard of two churches of ours in native villages, now closed, and the congregations dispersed, and more reports of a like nature?

One other instance of our working. In 1902 two of our most able missionaries were working, one in Rangoon, the other at Prome, 161 miles distant. Each had an enormous area in which evangelistic work had sprung up. Each was unsupported by any other younger missionary who would be ready to fill a gap. The inevitable "gap" came. One of the two broke down, and soon after landing in England died.

There was no one to take his place. The other had to come from Prome, and take up the double work, although its two divisions were separated by 161 miles. No wonder that, while engaged in the daily instruction of students at our little theological college, this priest, amazing though his bodily and intellectual powers are, cannot "shepherd" the 1500 converts mostly scattered in heathen villages, and that many of them are lost to us.

I have mentioned the great opportunity and the urgent call which our empire makes on us to evangelise the fast changing *hill tribes* without delay.

What have we done for them? Among the Karens we have just held our ground during recent years. Among another hill race, the Chins, Mr. Whitehead, the missionary priest of whom I have just written, had begun a most promising work, when his recall to Rangoon placed 160 and more miles between him and this field, and there was no one to take his place, although the promise of a good harvest was great.

Besides these efforts we have as yet done nothing for the hill tribes, nothing to stay the rapid advance of Buddhism.

Women's Work.—God cares for the women as well as the men. If we are to have native Christian homes we must have Christian women for our Christian converts to marry.

What has the Church done for them? We have five S.P.G. women workers from England. All too few. For, at Mandalay, the thirty-eight years of work have not yet seen a women's work begun, and among our Tamil Christians, a most growing and important mission, no women's work has yet been begun, though the work is at least twenty years old.

What can be said of a Church whose bishop when met by a report that 5000 heathen seek for instruction, has to confess that, if that report be true, he has no European missionary to place in charge of the work? Yet this has been my experience.

Such instances of neglect of duty by the Church at home might be given in much larger number and variety. It is sad work to write thus, and I gladly

yield to the demand for brevity and turn to the question of how to remedy defects.

I end this paper therefore with a few considerations and suggestions.

1. *Many more labourers*, men and women, are needed. This is now a familiar cry, but I trust that Churchmen at home, and the clergy in particular, are beginning to give weight to one striking phenomenon. Many persons in recent years have travelled, and noted with interest the Church's mission field. But whatever were their views when they set out from Great Britain, as they come back one by one none varies his witness—the amazing need of labourers. There is an impressive unanimity in such reports.

Bishop Barry writes his Hulsean Lectures on "The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England," and through all the chapters this need finds constant utterance. Bishop Montgomery puts out his book on "Foreign Missions," and again the same need is the most striking feature, unless it yield place to the impression that other Christian bodies have put us of the Church of England to shame in this work of evangelisation of *our own* people, the subjects of the King-Emperor.

How can the Church at home be impressed with this truth, and her sons and daughters be moved to use and meet it?

It is impossible without God's Spirit. But we know that that gift is assured, "What must we do besides pray?" is the practical question.

I maintain that the time has come to act: that

literature and speeches on the subject be not reduced, but that action, more action, be taken, and this, if not by the Church as a whole, yet by individuals who will thus prepare the way for united and corporate action.

We write and we make speeches of the need. It is well. But it will be better to act, to give up ourselves, leave our posts at home, if need be, vacant. Those vacant posts will convince young men and women of the Church of the need and the call, far more effectively than books and speeches, and will move in God's time those who can fill them.

2. We need much more money.

3. We need more men and women who will take up the Cross of the celibate life for Christ's sake. I do not contend that all missionaries should be celibate. We need some who are married; but especially in tropical climates, and in uncivilised regions many more celibates are required.

(1) The failure of the wife's health is almost as effective in removing her husband from the mission field as the failure of his own. (2) Children absorb not only money, but thought and energy. (3) In the East celibacy wins attention and respect. We must in this regard become eastern that we may win the eastern. Herein the Church can learn a lesson from the Indian Army. In the army marriage is limited to a very small percentage. Men are required to live celibate for the sake of the empire, and it is we clergy who proclaim that celibacy and cleanliness of life are possible even in the tropics. Will men be wanting who will do

for the sake of Christ and His kingdom as much as we require from Tommy Atkins for the sake of the empire?

4. It follows necessarily that such celibate workers must work, not alone, but in communities or in twos or threes. Such would seem to be our Lord's mind, and such St. Paul's practice, for he was rarely alone. In this way will be met a most pressing need, that of *continuity* of work. And it is time to realise by long and bitter experience the futility of allowing a solitary worker to work himself out in a few years, and then when the inevitable failure of health, or death occurs, think we have done grandly, if after the lapse of a year we find a raw recruit to fill the place left vacant.

This is not "shepherding" with the love and care and wisdom of the Great Shepherd. Yet this is a common occurrence in the mission field.

5. The work needs not only men of devotion and judgment, but also some at least who possess more than usual ability.

I once heard a remark made with reference to a young missionary. "He is excellent. He would do for a chaplaincy." The sooner such opinions are consigned to the limbo where all such ideas should go, the better for the Church and her work.

Devotion tells among any society, and without it all ministerial work is vain. But the work of laying foundations, of presenting truths such as those of the Godhead, or of sin, or of the Bible and the Church, to minds where they come as something new in many respects, in a language which lacks

adequate terms because the ideas have not been present to former generations—to initiate new methods, to see and seize on new openings, to be the sole leader of dependent native teachers—such a task as this is a challenge to the Church to send not her worst but her best. As a rule the man or woman who cannot do effective work at home will succeed no better here.

Careful scrutiny and judgment must be exercised at home. The past history presents many warning lessons. Men and women have been allowed to come out who should have been forbidden. Some might have been effective had they been trained first, but not a few were utterly unsuited, and only added to the difficulties of the more capable few who with great devotion gave their best to the cause of Christ.

At the same time, the knowledge that wise and sufficient examination and judgment are exercised, will relieve many a man from the deterring fear that he may err in a matter of private judgment which should not fall on him at all, viz., the decision as to his fitness or unfitness for the work.

We call men and women to offer themselves for the work, and to leave the decision of their fitness to others who can judge with less likelihood of error.

6. *Organisation at home.*—I have seen many signs that clergy and others ask for an authoritative “call” which will also survey the whole field, and determine that part which is most fitting for them as a field of labour.¹

¹ Note, for example, “The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa,” pp. 122-4.

Here in Burma I see with not a little envy the fruits of such organisation in the Roman missions. Most gladly would I welcome something to meet this demand.

Yet meantime saintly men and women pour into the mission field from Nonconformist bodies and do noble work, finding a clear call without any such organisation. And meantime years fly by, and the man who feels moved to offer himself waits and waits for such authoritative call, and *the sheep of Christ are left to starve* in the wilderness of heathen surroundings.

Therefore, while not deprecating such attempts to secure this voice of the Church, I ask whether the evidence put before those who will see is not as weighty and convincing as that which leads men to offer themselves for ordination, or to move from one parish in England to another. And I trust that without presumption I may urge that the call to the mission field is not less clear than those other acknowledged calls with which at home men are familiar, and which they have already recognised.

Such a clear call is made thus: (1) by the reiterated appeals made in Christ's name by all the bishops of dioceses abroad; (2) by the startling unanimity of all who know the field abroad; (3) by the disproportionate allocation of ministerial forces. More than 30,000¹ ministers of all bodies are in Great Britain, 200 are in a field such as Burma.

¹ I am ignorant of the exact figures, but there are, I believe, over 20,000 clergy of the Church of England in Great Britain, and Nonconformist ministers and Roman priests must bring the number

Are we content to see the empire staffed by a force which is thirty-seven times as small in proportion to the population as the staff at home?

(4) By the fact that our empire has brought us into close touch with many races whom our nation is deeply influencing, and that this influence at present is greatly in lack of the spirit and knowledge of Christ, to bring which the Church is the body appointed and called.

I am painfully conscious of the inadequacy of this paper. If only it may give some hints of great claims on the Church for great sacrifice, and for some of the best of her sons, and if, at the same time, its very inadequacy furnish proof of the need of more capable workmen in the field, I shall be content.

A handful of men and women have struggled nobly in the past in this country. But if I did not believe that God would grant an increase of their numbers, and grace sufficient for their needs, I should consider that it would be better to withdraw and concentrate our forces elsewhere, so great has been the lack up to the present time. But the sky brightens and a new spirit is moving in the Church, and here, in Burma, we are feeling the effects, so that if I had to write of our prospects in the future, instead of our experiences in the past, the tone of this paper would be different.

up to 30,000 at least. The population of Great Britain is four times that of Burma; the area a little more than half that of Burma.

NOTE I.

NATIVE WORKERS. THE NEED OF CAPABLE BRITISH
LEADERS AND TRAINERS.

We are often asked "Why do you not work through native agents?" The answer is, "We do." But the question often springs from ignorance of the difficulty of finding and of "making" (with the grace of God) men fit for such responsibilities.

The Indian army again furnishes a useful illustration. Each native regiment will have a large number of British officers, at least eight or ten. Now, fighting comes naturally to the "natural man," and yet to teach this earthly fight and its discipline, native officers are insufficient. For the much harder fight and for the much harder discipline of the Christian character, we shall for a very long time require a large proportion of British "officers" in the Church's native regiments. It is quite insufficient, *e.g.* for our large Tamil and Telugu Christian "regiment" in Burma to have only one English missionary who knows the language.

Again, for this most important work of training native workers, capable minds as well as Christian hearts are needed. In no other department of our work is the need of gifted men more clearly felt than in this.

NOTE II.

THE NEED OF LARGE NUMBERS OF MISSIONARIES BECAUSE
OF THE MULTIPLICITY OF RACES IN INDIA.

In Burma we have Christians of the following races: Burmese, Karens (two tribes speaking different tongues); Tamils and Telugus from India; and even a few Chinese.

Putting aside the subject of evangelisation, the first problem which faces us at once is—How to keep our native Christians Christian? A little reflection on the instances which I have given will show this difficulty. These native Christians live in close touch with their heathen surroundings. From our “English” churches they can gain little help. They require European shepherds still, and *each race requires its own*.

Hence our force of missionaries is not homogeneous. You cannot transfer a missionary among Burmese to work among Tamils without great loss. To a large extent, therefore, each mission must be separate, *e.g.* must have its separate missionary staff, schools, training institutions for catechists and clergy, just as it has its separate language, and Christian literature in that language.

This is a further reason why, let us say, six English clergy engaged in mission work cannot cover so wide a field as six clergy at home—because the fields are so greatly heterogeneous.

Yet we cannot withdraw from any one field, for that means the abandoning of “sheep,” of bodies of native Christians already baptized.

NOTE III.

BRITISH TROOPS.

As I feel sure that the Bishop of Lahore will write with greater experience and fuller knowledge than myself of the needs of our troops in India, I am content to leave my paper as it is. It will be noted that Government chaplaincies serve British troops, 1000, 700, 300, and so forth in each station.

Do not these men, forced to live celibate lives, in a

tropical climate, with all the temptations of great heat, and little to occupy their minds after the morning has seen the day's work ended, make a strong appeal? Yet, as I have written, few clergy are willing to give themselves to posts where ministrations to British troops make a first claim on their time and powers.

CANADA (No. I)

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE

By the Rev. L. NORMAN TUCKER, M.A., D.C.L., General Secretary, Missionary Society, Church of England in Canada.

I. THE Dominion of Canada stretches across the Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 3000 miles as the crow flies, 4000 along its trans-continental railway. To realise this fully it is necessary to take the journey from Halifax to Vancouver, spending six days and six nights in a railway carriage. And it stretches 2000 miles northward from the United States' boundary to the Arctic Sea. Its climate is uniformly healthy, and its winters, though severe, are eminently conducive to physical strength and vigour.

It is adorned with the greatest variety and beauty of scenery. The river St. John is comparable to the Rhine or the Hudson; the eastern townships of Quebec are like the Highlands of Scotland; the Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence and the ten thousand islands of the Georgian Bay have a beauty all their own; Niagara Falls is one of the wonders of the world; the scenery of the Rockies and the Selkirks rivals that of Switzerland; while the Gulf of Georgia

combines the beauties of Switzerland and of the Mediterranean. The diversity of scenery is more than matched by diversity of material products;—the cod fisheries of the Atlantic; the salmon fisheries of the Pacific; the forests of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario; the grain of the North-West; the mineral deposits of British Columbia; and the coal-beds of Nova Scotia, Alberta, and British Columbia. You can drive fifty miles under the shadow of the apple-trees of the Annapolis Valley. The Niagara peninsula produces the most delicious grapes and peaches. The waters teem with fish, and the forests are alive with game. Montreal is harnessed to the Lachine Rapids, and Toronto to Niagara Falls; while the water-power of the Dominion is nearly one-half that of the whole world. Its system of waterways is unrivalled—the Fraser, the Columbia, the Saskatchewan, the Yukon, the Mackenzie; while the St. Lawrence stretches 2000 miles to the very centre of the Continent. Its Railway System, which is still in its infancy, covers its various provinces as with a network, and makes it one of the highways of the world. Its Atlantic and Pacific seaboards give it the command of the trade with both Europe and Asia. Mills and factories are springing up in every direction. Villages are rapidly growing into towns, and towns into cities; and cities like Winnipeg and Vancouver are doubling their population every ten years. A country that contains all these elements of agricultural, industrial and commercial prosperity can scarcely fail in time to win a foremost place among the nations of the earth.

II. But more important than material resources, in the formation of national life, are the character and institutions of the people. It may not unfairly be said that the two best elements in the world—the English and the French—go to make up the Canadian nationality, the marked features of the one tending to supplement or to correct the marked features of the other. The Government, formed on the English model but adapted to local conditions, is capable of solving the most important problems of the national life. The judiciary, learned and incorrupt, commands the confidence of the people. The educational system, in spite of its glaring defects, meets all the most urgent needs; and some of our seats of learning have earned world-wide fame. All religious communions have brought their respective systems to the highest perfection, relying solely on the devotion of their adherents. The Church of England has adapted episcopacy to purely democratic conditions, and has found that the laity are the most conservative force in the councils of the Church, and that institutions of purely native growth and men of native training are the best suited to the needs of the country. Canadians have already won distinction in almost every walk of life. They have adorned the learned professions; they have become authorities in the realm of science; they have been ennobled for distinguished services rendered to the empire; they have made their mark in the public life of England; and signs are not wanting that they will soon take an honourable place in the world of letters and of art.

The people are law-abiding, and the law is rigidly enforced, even in mining camps that are noted for their lawlessness. The Sunday is generally observed, and strict Sunday observance laws have been placed on the Statute Book. The home is all but universally cherished, and divorce is almost unknown. Intemperance, unfortunately, widely prevails, as elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon world. Shocking cases of corruption in the political world have come to light, and a lowered standard of business morality has been disclosed; but the heart of the people is sound, and exemplary punishment is meted out to the offenders. The old-time habit of Bible study and church attendance is somewhat relaxed, but God's holy House and Word and Day still have a strong hold on the affections of the people.

In addition to the priceless inheritance of British history, British institutions, and British literature, in which Canadians are proud to share, they have a history of their own, of which they need not be ashamed. They look back with pardonable pride to the great rulers of the French régime; to the heroic Jesuit missionaries to the Indians; to the enterprising explorers known as "Coureurs des bois," who overran the continent in their canoes and on their snowshoes; to the noble body of pioneers known as "United Empire Loyalists," who, for King and Flag, left home and friends and all behind them; to the hardy settlers who conquered the rude forests and converted the desolate wilderness into meadows and gardens; to the far-seeing statesmen who found their country a series of scattered, if not hostile pro-

vinces, and who made it a united Dominion; to the railway magnates who, in the face of almost insuperable obstacles, welded the confederation into practical unity with bands of steel; and to the captains of industry who are even now engaged in converting the varied resources of the country to the uses of the people. Here is surely cause enough to arouse the enthusiasm and excite the patriotic ardour of a much less impressionable people than the Canadians. And if to this be added the strong feeling of Nationhood that has recently taken possession of their hearts, giving a new meaning to their institutions and history, and a new purpose to all their energies, one need not be a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, to predict a great future for such a people.

III. Now, apart from questions of material development which fill so large a place in the public mind to-day, and which can be relied on to find their own solution, there are four great questions that concern different elements in the population of the country, into which enter high moral and religious considerations, and which have a direct bearing on the national life. They may be defined as (a) the Indian question; (b) the problem of the Foreign population; (c) the French question; and (d) the problem of the British immigration.

(a) The Indians, scattered in small tribes over the whole Dominion, number in all 107,000, of whom 75,000 are in our western mission field. It is felt on all sides that, as the original inhabitants of the country, they are deserving of special consideration at the hands of those who have dispossessed

them of their happy hunting-grounds, and who, by destroying their game, have deprived them of their livelihood; and on all sides serious efforts are made to discharge the obligation. The Government yearly spends large sums of money on their maintenance and education. The Hudson's Bay Company has, it is true, done little for the permanent improvement of their lot; but it has always dealt honourably with them, and has befriended the missionaries who devoted themselves to their welfare. The Roman Catholic Church, for three centuries, has done a noble work on their behalf; and the story of the early Jesuit missionaries is one of the most heroic chapters in the history of missions. The Methodists and Presbyterians have been the means of converting many tribes to Christianity; while some of the brightest triumphs of the Gospel have been reaped by the Church of England, through the agency of the Church Missionary Society, on the shores of the Hudson Bay and of the Arctic Ocean, and on the banks of the Red River, the Saskatchewan, the Mackenzie, the Yukon and the Skeena. The agencies employed by all these religious bodies have been the church, the day school, the boarding school, and the industrial school. Unfortunately the mercenary spirit and the "fire-water" of the unscrupulous white man have destroyed much of the good accomplished by the missionary; and now that the Church Missionary Society has determined to withdraw from the field, before the Canadian Church is able to take over the work, many of the Indians who have joined the Church of England, will be condemned

to relapse into the heathen state, or be gathered into the folds of other religious communions. On the whole the present condition of the Indians is a disappointment to their best friends. Whatever spiritual good may have been done among them, they have not been trained to assume the duties and exercise the rights of citizenship. A feeble and dwindling element in our national life, they can scarcely be expected to take any appreciable part in the solution of the problems of the British Empire.

(b) Impatience to secure settlers for the fertile regions of the West has led the Government of Canada to the adoption of an immigration policy that has brought, and is bringing, to the country many heterogeneous elements from Continental Europe. There are now 8000 Doukhobors, 20,000 Mennonites, 20,000 Hungarians, 65,000 Galicians, chiefly in the four dioceses of Rupert's Land, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, and Calgary; and nearly one-half of the population of Winnipeg is of foreign origin. From the standpoint of mere industry and thrift, many of these foreigners are not undesirable settlers; but their moral and intellectual character is of a very low order. Speaking different languages and cherishing different ideals, they are not likely to be easily or rapidly assimilated. The recent establishment of separate schools, in the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, will greatly accentuate the tendency to separation; and widespread illiteracy will offer a splendid field for the exercise of the "human devices" that are not unknown to unscrupulous politicians. In faith and modes of wor-

ship, many of them are not far removed from the Church of Rome, to which they will naturally gravitate. The Presbyterians are making earnest and not unsuccessful efforts to reach them with the influences of the reformed faith. But the Church of England, whose historical position and liturgical form of worship should appeal to them with special force, has done practically nothing to influence them. A very serious problem is here created that may have considerable influence on the future of our national life and character, and on the part that Canada may be called to play in the solution of Imperial questions.

(c) The French in Canada must ever remain in a position of special privilege, as this has been secured to them by the faith of ancient treaties. They were the first settlers in the country; they already number one and a half million, and are the most prolific element in the population; they have become firmly rooted in the soil of Quebec, and they are extending their offshoots into Ontario and the West. Though the mass of the people are still illiterate, the educated class takes a foremost place in the ranks of Canadian literary culture. As having shared their adverse fortunes and saved them from absorption during the critical period that followed the conquest, the Church of Rome has become identified with their national existence; defection from it means treason to the Nation as well as to the Faith. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Churchmen have established missions and schools among them; but, though their efforts have met

with remarkable success in individual cases, they can scarcely be said to have made any deep impression on the people as a whole. The French in Canada are likely to test to the full the power of the Latin race and of the Church of Rome, to influence the free institutions and the Anglo-Saxon nationality that are growing up in this young Dominion. For, enjoying, as they do, the right of self-government in their own province and that of citizenship in the other provinces, they are naturally attached to the British connection, but they are moved by no chivalrous loyalty to the British Crown, and are averse to any scheme of Imperial defence or Imperial Federation. They must always be reckoned as a negative or adverse influence in the solution of all questions of Imperial concern.

(d) But the great problem that now confronts the Canadian people, in which the highest interests both of the Church and of the State are involved, is the extraordinary influx of settlers, chiefly of Anglo-Saxon stock, into the newer regions of the West. Already the West produces 150,000,000 bushels of grain annually. Already it has thousands of miles of railway in operation, and thousands more under construction. Of its 125,000,000 acres of arable land only 5,000,000, or one twenty-fifth part, have been taken up. Here surely is one of the granaries of the world; here is bread for the starving sons of men; here is room for the surplus people of the British Islands. The land is so abundant, so productive, and so cheap, that it is attracting the immigration of the world. Already the popula-

tion of the West amounts to one million, and is increasing by immigration at the rate of nearly a quarter of a million annually, and will go on increasing at an accelerated speed. In the next twenty-five years, if not sooner, it will be over 5,000,000, and 25,000,000 before the end of this century. And be it remembered that these immigrants are not negroes, not savages; nor are they settling in some remote or heathen land, but they are ranging themselves under our flag, in the midst of our empire. They are British people destined to become the patriarchs of young communities, and the fathers and founders of a young nation; they may even become important factors in working out the destiny of the British Empire. Can there be a more important problem of imperial concern, presented for solution to the citizens of the Dominion and of the Empire?

(1) First, look at this problem from the standpoint of the Church. On a moderate calculation, of the 200,000 people who annually settle in the West, one-fifth, or 40,000 are, at least nominally, members of the Church of England; and many of them are sincere members, who would welcome the services of the Church. In some districts, in the case of people who come from England, 75 per cent. are members of the Church. This means that, with a minimum of effort and expense, 25,000 to 40,000 souls can be added annually to the membership of the Church in the West. This means that the present membership, and with it the wealth and power, of the Church in Canada can be doubled in

the next twenty-five years. This means further, that when the country has reached its full development, the Church in Canada will have become a powerful national institution, capable of doing great things for the nation, the empire, and the world. Fancy this Church at the end of the twentieth century, seated in the midst of a powerful people commanding all the resources of plain and mountain, of land and sea, with a membership of many millions, possessed of ample means, strongly entrenched in the loyalty and devotion of its children, trained to generous and purposeful giving, and animated by an ardent missionary spirit! What might not such a Church contribute towards the solution of the great religious problems of the empire and of the world? And what insuperable difficulty stands in the way of our placing the Church of England in this position of influence and opportunity?

Such a work, it is clear, will involve great efforts and sacrifices; but surely effort and sacrifice could not be expended on a more important object. To realise the needs of the work, it is necessary to understand that we have nothing to start with; that everything both in the State and in the Church must be built up from the foundations. Here is the bare prairie on the one side, without town, or church, or even shanty for the settler; and on the other, there is the settler, who comes in to take possession, with all his worldly goods in most cases drawn by a team of oxen. Clearly some time must elapse before the individual settler can be in a position to give much substantial help to

the Church. And to add to the difficulties of the position, we must imagine a country of almost limitless extent, open in all directions to the settler, without the slightest obstruction of either forest or mountain. Effective combination, under such circumstances, is almost impossible for some years at least. And if we wait until the Church members can effectively combine to support the Church, they will have been gleaned one by one, as sheaves for the garner of more active and enterprising religious communions. The initiative must come from without. The missionary must be sent and his stipend provided, in part at least, for a few years; and he must keep the straggling settlers and their families in touch with the Church, by individual effort and far-reaching visitation, until the time for united effort has come.

Omitting for the present the question of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory, the area that is being brought under settlement includes what is known as New Ontario, in the diocese of Algoma—that immense region north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and west of the Ottawa River. It is sufficient to say that here are cobalt and mineral deposits of untold value; here are vast timber limits and promising agricultural districts, and through this region is projected the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Some thirty to forty townships are already in process of settlement, a score of churches, and half a score of missionaries are needed at once, to meet the demands of this new region. It includes the Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods dis-

tricts in the diocese of Keewatin, through which the Canadian Northern Railway passes, but in which, owing to physical difficulties, the work of settlement will proceed more slowly. It includes especially the vast prairie region between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, an area 1000 miles from east to west, and 500 miles from north to south. This region is in various stages of development, from Rupert's Land, which is the most advanced, to Saskatchewan, which is still in the embryonic state. This latter diocese, as a home for the white settler, came into view only about three years ago. The all-British Colonists opened the way in the Spring of 1903, and they had to tramp 200 miles across the uninhabited prairie from Saskatoon to Britannia. Since then nearly 100,000 have settled in the diocese, with the result that along the line of the Canadian Northern Railway, at one time, there were thirty towns without any church service or any representative of the Church; and that the need has not grown less, is shown by the fact that fifty missionaries are now being sought to take up new centres of work and influence in the diocese. The need in Calgary, in Qu'Appelle, and in Rupert's Land, though in varying degree, is of the same urgency. In Rupert's Land some thirty new churches were opened during the last eighteen months; in Qu'Appelle ten missionaries were added, during the last year, to the clergy list; and a sober estimate of the annual needs of the whole field for the next five or ten years would be, the erection of one hundred new

churches, the introduction of fifty new missionaries, and the expenditure by the missionary societies of £50,000 or \$250,000. It is clear that, if such a work is to be adequately done, it can only be through the combined plans, efforts, and sacrifices of all the missionary agencies of the Church both in Canada and in the mother-land.

(2) But the chief function of the Canadian Church, as the outcome of its spiritual work, must ever be to raise the tone, to exalt the ideals and to mould the organs of the national life. In so doing it must not only provide a sound theological training for its clergy; it must also secure, as far as possible, that the youth of the nation be not left without adequate religious instruction. It must use all its influence to cause honourable methods to prevail in business. It must seek to train citizens who will use the rights of citizenship for the highest ends. Above all, it must teach that righteousness alone exalts a nation; that the making and administering of laws is an attribute that belongs to God Himself; and therefore, the powers that be, in a very real sense, are ordained of God.

Now the Canadian people have chosen to claim for themselves a distinct place in the British Empire. Throughout their checkered history, in dark as well as in bright days, they have remained loyal to the British connection, and their deepest feeling, in this regard, has found expression in the words of one of their greatest sons: "A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die." It would not be easy to define or limit the influence to be exerted in the

midst of the empire by a nation of say 25 or 50 millions of people inspired by high and noble ideals. It would add immensely to the influence exerted by the empire on the heathen races within its bounds and hasten the process by which they would be raised to the full status of citizenship. It would also add greatly to the influence wielded by the empire on all heathen nations outside its bounds. For while we fully recognise that God has chosen His Gospel and His Church as His chief agents for the establishment of His spiritual kingdom in the world; indeed, when properly understood, the Gospel is His law and the Church His Kingdom; nevertheless He has always been pleased to use nations and governments as His auxiliaries in this blessed work. Indeed, under the old dispensation, the Nation and the Church were one. In the first age His Gospel was preached and His Church planted in an empire prepared by His Providence to receive and to promote them. All the resources of the Roman Empire became His agents for the spread of His truth—the military highways, the Greek language, the prevalence of law, the protection of authority, the unity and peace that everywhere prevailed. The counterpart of the Roman Empire of the first century is the British Empire of the twentieth. The 300,000,000 of India, while kept at peace by British authority and evangelised by Christian missionaries, are being gradually and insensibly won by the subtle all-pervading influences of British civilisation; and India will be converted to Christ by the combined forces of the Nation and the Church.

The African continent is being overrun by the messengers of Christ, and the hope of the African races is inseparably bound up with the Gospel of redemption. But the work is being powerfully aided and extended by the subtle, irresistible influence of the British Empire, whose rule in Egypt, the Soudan, and South Africa, and whose activity in trade and in the promotion of railways and the spread of ideas, are pervading the whole continent. We are amazed that Japan should so rapidly have been opened up to the preaching of the Gospel; our astonishment is greatly lessened by the thought that this result is mainly due, under God, to the irresistible influences of a Christian civilisation emanating from the great Christian nations of Germany, the United States, and England. We can see the doors of China opening up everywhere before the missionaries of the Cross, and we thank God for it; and we see in it the coming of the Kingdom to one quarter of the human race; but we are also enabled to see that this is being hurried on by the national influence of Japan, whose success and power have made her the model and the teacher of Asia. We can thus see over the face of the globe the subtle, irresistible influences of civilisation as represented by the great nations of the earth, and more especially by the British Empire. Those influences are silently but rapidly transforming the great heathen races of the world, undermining their ancient beliefs, and leading them to the adoption of a form of civilisation which is largely the product of Christianity, and thus are paving the way for the adoption of

Christianity itself. We are witnessing the scenes predicted by the old Hebrew seers, when the kingdoms of this world should become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ. In that glorious transformation we see the Word of the Lord giving life and light; we see how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them that publish the gospel of peace. But we also see the subtle, irresistible forces of a vigorous Christian civilisation filling the valleys, bringing low the mountains and hills, making the crooked straight and the rough ways smooth, that all flesh may see the salvation of God. In the front rank of those secular forces, wielded by the Divine hand for this Divine purpose, we are proud and thankful to place the Anglo-Saxon race and the British Empire. And, as one of the living forces within the empire, contributing its full share towards the grand result, we fain would place the Canadian people and the Dominion of Canada.

CANADA (No. II)

MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

By the Rev. E. A. WELCH, M.A., Rector of St. James's
Church, Toronto.

THE point of view from which this paper is written is that of an Englishman whose education and first decade of ministerial experience were entirely English, but who has since been working for a number of years in different capacities in the Church in Canada. The object of the paper is to suggest from that point of view what the Church might do for the rapidly growing national life of the Dominion, the imperative duty of the Church to do all that is possible in that direction, and some of the means which should be adopted. By the Church is meant neither the Church in England nor the Church in Canada exclusively, but the Mother and the Daughter, each working in her own sphere, each contributing of her own gifts, for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the empire and in the world at large.

I. What, then, might the Church do to foster and train and strengthen the national life of the young nation that is growing up with the whole vast Dominion for its home?

By way of answering this question it would not be unreasonable to infer that, having regard to changed conditions, the Church might do for the life of Canada something at least of what it has done for the life of England. To attempt to estimate in any adequate manner the value and extent of the Church's contribution to the nation's life would be to exceed the limits of this paper. A large part of it, indeed, though very real, would not be by any means easily definable. The influence, however, of the Catechism, and especially of the duty towards God and the duty towards the neighbour, has certainly been a very considerable factor in the training of the English character, while the whole system of the Church has always tended to produce and foster a spirit of reverence, the value of which is not always appreciated until, under different conditions, the absence of it makes itself unpleasantly apparent.

It cannot be too strongly or too frequently stated that the dwellers in the Dominion are addressing themselves with an energy of devotion and a singleness of purpose that are deserving of all praise, to a task no less ambitious than that of making a nation. And in the accomplishment of that great purpose the matter of supreme importance is the character of the religion of the nation that is to be. "I always hold," said Sir John Seeley, "that religion is the great state-building principle; these colonists" [in America] "could create a new state because they were already a church, since the church, so at least I hold, is the soul of the state; where there is a

church a state grows up in time; but if you find a state which is not also in some sense a church, you find a state which is not long for this world."¹ Already in the West there are signs that the keenness of the pursuit of wealth is fostering a practical materialism, which in many lives is stifling the spiritual; and in parts where money is not so entirely the one absorbing thought, there are observable certain defects in the national character which give cause for grave apprehension as to the future. There is, for example, a want of sense of honour in regard to the keeping of engagements, a lack of thoroughness and trustworthiness in work of various kinds, a dishonesty in trade and business, which are of evil omen. In private relations there are to be noticed in many quarters a great want of self-control, suggestive of an altogether undisciplined character, and a general superficiality which is the natural and perhaps inevitable result of being always in a hurry. These remarks should be understood as applying to what may be described as the city type of character. The elemental virtues of truth and honesty are still found commonly among the original settlers on the land and their immediate descendants. It is the city type, however, which tends to prevail and to become most influential.

If this materialism is to be counteracted, if these defects are to be corrected, it can only be by the absorption of such teaching as that by which we learn that our first duty is not to win success at any cost, and by any means, but to believe in God,

¹ "Expansion of England," p. 179.

to fear Him, and to love Him; and our second duty to do to all men as we would they should do unto us, and to be true and just in all our dealing.

The absence of the spirit of reverence is another defect in the Canadian character which, as has been already suggested, the system of the Church might do much to remedy. The testimony of one who is not a member of our communion, and therefore is not open to the suspicion of undue partiality, may be quoted in this connection. Preaching some years ago in Toronto, a prominent Methodist minister, after expressing his conviction that Presbyterianism and Independency were necessary to the creation of the laurel of liberty with which the mother-land has crowned all her sons, added that, in his view, it must be said that the English Church "has contributed many of the noblest elements of the national character. Take for one illustration the fact that the Englishman is a reverent man. It seems to be natural to him. And this lesson of reverence, once fairly engrained into the national character, appears everywhere. The well-educated and refined Englishman carries with him a higher regard for authority, a more tender respect and esteem for the parental relation, and he is more impressed with whatever is grand and inspiring in nature and in art than one who has been educated in a different school." We must, perhaps, acknowledge that some of his words are not as true now as when they were first spoken. "I give," he proceeds, "the Church of England very largely the credit of educating the people into this national

"quality. I wish not to be misunderstood as meaning that the other two great religious bodies exerted any opposing influence to this direction of the national character, but they naturally would not instil the highest feelings of reverence for all that was venerable and sacred by age, and, when hard pressed in pursuit of their laudable aims, would not always inculcate the highest reverence even for what was sacred by consecration. But these points have always been guarded by the Church of England."

In a country where democracy is supreme, where there is practically no leisured class, where commercialism is dominant even in the educational system, there is an inevitable tendency towards the loss of much of that refinement of manners which in some countries is found in all classes, irrespective of education or circumstances. Here, too, the influence of the Church, with its stately architecture, its dignified ritual, its uplifting music, would, if it could make itself sufficiently widely felt, go far towards repairing a loss which is acknowledged on all hands.

Akin to all of this, and yet different from anything that has yet been mentioned, is a certain provincialism of thought which is very prevalent among many native-born Canadians. The existence of this defect would be admitted by most, perhaps all, thoughtful, observant, and well-informed Canadians themselves. It is due, here as elsewhere, to defects in education which would vanish under the influence of a larger outlook upon life; and in

securing this larger outlook, incalculable service might be rendered by a Church of which, as of the Church of England, it can be truly said that it is firm without stiffness, elastic without fluidity, orthodox without narrowness, comprehensive but not latitudinarian.

II. If, then, the Church has it within its power to contribute elements of the highest value towards the development and building up of the national character in Canada and in the other Colonies, it would seem unquestionably to follow that it is the imperative duty of the Church to exert itself to the utmost to make that contribution.

"We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind," says the distinguished historian who has been already quoted. To-day, however, the absence of mind has given place to an alertness and an interest in the minds of nearly all observant and intelligent persons. The value of the Colonies has been discovered. It is recognised that they offer many admirable opportunities for the investment of capital. They need, and are willing to buy, in large quantities and at good prices, the various exports of the United Kingdom; and, whatever may be the case elsewhere, Canada is prepared to welcome any number of immigrants, provided that they are morally sound and physically capable to till the boundless prairies of the West, and at the same time to relieve the pressure of over-population and consequent pauperism in the mother-land.

It is not, however, only from a social and com-

mercial point of view that the Colonies are of value to England. Their importance in a political and imperial sense can hardly be over-estimated. "The most obvious facts," says Sir John Seeley again, "suggest that England owes its modern character "and its peculiar greatness from the outset, to the "New World. It is not the blood of the Vikings "that makes us rulers of the sea, nor the industrial "genius of the Anglo-Saxon that makes us great in "manufactures and commerce, but a much more "special circumstance which did not arise till for "many centuries we had been agricultural or pastoral, "warlike, and indifferent to the sea." Expansion for the mere sake of expansion is, no doubt, liable to lead to weakness; but when, by the force of circumstances, we find ourselves with ships in every port of the world, and commerce continually crossing every sea, it can hardly be disputed that it is of incalculable advantage to have somewhere on the shore of every sea, harbours where our merchant vessels and our battleships are as much at home as they are at Liverpool or Portsmouth, where coal and all other necessities can be obtained without any question of their being contraband of war, and whence communications can be maintained without risk of interruption, with the Government at home and with all other parts of the world. Nor is it a matter of slight importance, as has once been amply proved, and as will assuredly be proved again if ever the occasion should unhappily arise, for the Mother Country to be able to look for help, all the more gladly and willingly given because not demanded

as a right, from the Sons of the Blood. The English nation cannot leave her Colonies to themselves; she owes them too large a debt, and they are too valuable to her, for her ever to cut them adrift. And the English Church, as the National Church, has special and peculiar responsibilities, both towards the empire at large and towards the men who are building up the empire in every quarter of the globe. Moreover, the position of the Church in England, while it increases its responsibilities, increases also its capacities for discharging them. This has not been by any means adequately recognised in the past. If it had been, there would have been no lack of either money or men for the Church's work in new countries. The old endowments should have made available for work overseas money that, but for them, would necessarily have been spent on support of the clergy in England. The Church's schools and colleges would have furnished a constant supply of men as ready to minister in holy things to their own kinsfolk in far-off lands, as the soldier or sailor is, to do his duty wherever he may be sent. The Church's parochial system might have been so used as to secure the commendation of all emigrants to some one who would shepherd them in their new home. In these ways the Church might have stamped a character upon the new communities in their earlier days, while, in its Episcopate, there is a unifying force of such potency, that the Church which in earlier days had so large a share in the making of the nation, might have had an equally large share in the

welding together of that federation of nations which we call the empire.

If, as must be sadly and with shame confessed, the Church has in the past through ignorance or unconcern lost opportunities of service which can never occur again, and neglected duties which have to a large extent been fulfilled by others, there are still open to it—and nowhere perhaps in fuller measure than in Canada—priceless opportunities which might yet be used, and there are still owing great duties to the empire, which can be discharged by none so well as by the Church which is actually the Church of the mother-land, and which ought to be the Church of the empire.

III. It remains to consider some of the ways in which advantage may be taken of these opportunities, and in which these duties may be fulfilled in relation to Canada.

1. Beyond question the most pressing of immediate needs is the need of the West and North-West. England should send men in the largest numbers possible, and money in generous measure now and for a few years to come. The money will not be needed for long, because the people will be trained to contribute to the support of their own clergy; but in the first struggling years they can do little more than support themselves. The Church in Canada is doing its duty in this regard well, but it is not unreasonable that it should look for help to England in its efforts to minister to those who come from England in such large and continually increasing numbers. The Canadian Church is asking for

Englishmen to minister not to Canadians, but to Englishmen who are settling in Canada. As a rule it is not desirable that native-born Canadians, with Canadian ways of living and Canadian habits of mind, should be ministered to by any but clergy born and trained in Canada. With the English settlers in the West, however, the case is different, and England may reasonably be expected to send men to minister to them. If we do not receive adequate help, many of them are likely to be lost to the Church of their fathers, as has been the case in the older parts of the Dominion; and if what has been already said with regard to the value of the Church's training has any truth in it, then the loss to the Church is also a loss from the Imperial point of view.

2. Another pressing need, which it may not be out of place to mention in this connection, is the need of greater adaptation to its conditions on the part of the Church in Canada. The system of the Church is perfectly adaptable to these conditions, but it has not been sufficiently, or generally enough, adapted. It contains already within itself all the characteristic excellences which have made other bodies so successful; but the excellences are, so to speak, latent; they need to be brought out into active service, and this is what we have for the most part failed to do. We have, in some measure, allowed our grand historic ancestry, instead of being a great and glorious inspiration, to lay the dead hand of the past upon the warm young life of the present. For illustration we need look no further

than to our official name. We call ourselves the Church of England in Canada, and there could not have been devised a more hapless name. It stamps us at once as emphatically not the Church of the people of this country.¹ And as we have adopted the name of the Church whose life-blood flows in our veins, instead of taking a name that, at least, would not suggest that we are not native to the soil, so we have only too faithfully adopted and perpetuated methods, of which many have been none too successful even in England. It would be easy, if it were necessary, to multiply illustrations, but it is enough here to give expression to the profound conviction that the Church in Canada needs sorely to learn the same lesson that was taught by our last war—the lesson that old methods are valueless unless they are adapted to modern conditions, and that mobility is as essential for the successful conduct of the campaign of the Church, as it was found to be for the successful conduct of the campaign in South Africa. The Church in Canada has made a grave mistake in refusing to act upon St. Paul's great principle of becoming all things to all men. Too often the Church has seemed to act upon the principle of being always the same thing to all men, the same unbending thing, however much their conditions and circumstances and dispositions might vary; the same in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth; the same in this new land of Canada with all its vigorous disregard of conventionality as

¹ Cf. p. 170.

in the old country with all its conservative adherence to the traditions of the past.

3. Church schools are much needed in many parts of the Dominion, and nowhere more than in the West. Teachers who would be willing for the Church's sake to work for small salaries and under difficult conditions would be of the greatest value to the Church's life. Nor need we be deterred from efforts in this direction by any fear of breaking the unity of the school system. That unity seems to be regarded in many quarters as possessing almost the sanctity of a fetish. Every province, however, has its own system, so that there is no unity for the Dominion; and in each province it is already broken by the separate system of the Roman Catholics, and by the schools which the wealthier classes have established and carry on for their own advantage. In Ontario comparatively few Anglicans avail themselves of the schools of the provincial system, if they can afford to send their children to other schools. The same is true in a measure of Presbyterians, while even the Methodists have their own distinct and separate college in the University of Toronto, which is the State University for the Province of Ontario. In the advocacy of a uniform secular system of education on the ground that any diversity militates against good citizenship, there lies the fallacy which ignores the fact that the best Christian is in a Christian country necessarily the best citizen.

4. Every effort should be made to establish continually closer intercourse between the mother and

daughter. There might well be a considerable extension of the system by which men offer themselves for service abroad on the understanding that the time spent is reckoned as spent in the home diocese. There are, no doubt, men whose services might be of the highest value to the Church in some colonial diocese, and who are prepared to give to the work there some of the best years of their life, but who for valid reasons—climatic, educational, domestic, or others—are unable to settle permanently out of England. Such men on their return would continue to be of service in many ways to the colonial Church in which they had worked, and might, by reason of the experience acquired abroad, be of greater service to the Church at home than if they had never left England.

On the other hand there might be found young men who would be as fully prepared to spend the rest of their lives in the Dominion, as many are who come out to engage in farming or mercantile pursuits. Such as these should receive their college training on this side, in order to gain some knowledge of Canadian ways before beginning their ministerial work.

Similarly it would be a great advantage to many Canadians if they could either begin their ministry in England, or after a year or two here have the privilege of serving as curates for a short time under incumbents of experience in England. Our conditions are such that only an extremely small proportion of deacons begin their work under the direct supervision of an experienced priest, and it is

not necessary to enlarge upon or emphasise what this loss means to young men at the beginning of their ministerial life. The adoption of such a plan would also be of great benefit to them in enlarging their conception of the Church. The average Canadian Churchman's idea of the Church to which he belongs is inevitably affected by the numerical inferiority of Anglicans as compared with Methodists and Presbyterians. In England, and only in England, he can learn that the Church counts for as much, not only as any other body, but as all other bodies together; only in England can he learn to appreciate at their true value the history and traditions of the Church.

5. In order to establish this closer intercourse which it is so eminently desirable to establish, it is of the greatest moment that the Colonial Clergy Act should be at least considerably modified, if it is impossible to repeal it. No amount of explanation will ever make it appear other than offensive to Canadian eyes; its laudable objects might surely be attained by other and unobjectionable means: and the sense of disability attaching to Orders conferred in a Colonial Church is so gravely at variance both with the idea of the Catholic Church, and also with the expressions of goodwill towards us which we are accustomed to hear from English Churchmen in the most exalted positions, that it would be well indeed if this grievance could be for ever removed.

It must not, however, be supposed that the advantages of a closer intercourse would be all on one side. If the daughter might be incalculably helped by

being brought into closer and more intimate touch with the learning and refinement and history and traditions of the mother, the mother on her side has much to learn from her daughter churches throughout the world. She might learn lessons of the highest value which would teach her how to call out, to a far greater degree than she does at present, the practical devotion of her laity; which might induce her to be less timid and hesitating in giving them a due share in the deliberations and decisions of her councils; which should show her how to combine that complete self-government which is a matter of course in a democratic country, with the Apostolic order which is essential to the life of a branch of the Catholic Church.

Twelve or thirteen years ago, one whose high position and wide experience gave him the right to speak with authority, gave utterance in the University pulpit at Cambridge to words on this subject with which this paper may fitly close: "There is more and more forced upon us the conviction that our English Christianity in general is far from rising to its great call, and that our Church in particular is far from taking her right leadership in its work for God. For there has not been as yet any adequate realisation by the great body of English Churchmen of the true condition of our missionary call and responsibility. The work is still far too much regarded as a merely subsidiary and extraneous work, which it is a matter of option to take up or to pass by. Therefore those to whom a truer estimate can be brought home, must plead earnestly

“for what is now, under God’s blessing, the one thing
“needful—that all men should consider, far more
“than has yet been done, the greatness of this our
“mission as at once a spiritual necessity and a
“spiritual glory, its indissoluble connection with our
“Church life here, and the moral impossibility for
“any one of us rightly to stand aloof from it, giving
“it no aid of labour, of contribution, of sympathy, of
“prayer.”

AUSTRALIA

By the Most Rev. ST. C. DONALDSON, D.D.,
Archbishop of Brisbane.

It may at least be a sign of progress when an Imperial people becomes self-conscious. The self-consciousness may be of a bad kind ministering mainly to national conceit; or it may be tinged with hypocrisy and false sentiment: from some points of view it may be a sign of weakness. But it may also grow into something real and earnest. It may lead to a thoughtful survey of past development; it may reveal a nation's position and responsibilities to the world outside; it may develop a sense of mission. And the people in which this sense is found has a career before it of usefulness to the world.

And the English people is becoming self-conscious. There are signs that the empire in one sense has arrived at a terminus *ad quem*. Physically its expansion has practically ceased; and all over the world the pioneers of British civilisation are brought up against competitors for the vacant tracts or teeming populations who must exist on the earth's surface as well as we. We have measured the special powers of government and colonisation

with which as a race we believe we are endowed; we have much to show for our labours, and we have begun to judge of the result in the light of history, and in the light of the criticisms of our neighbours.

Meanwhile as we look out upon the Colonial field we see the beginnings of a new chapter of history. Our Colonies are old enough now to manifest their own characteristics; we can appreciate their achievements: we can—dimly perhaps as yet, but still with some degree of probability—estimate their future. We can see already the great forces at work which are gradually making changes in the race itself. The instinct for government, so conspicuous when there is a subject race to govern, asserts itself in a determined tendency towards self-government when there is no one else to govern, and democracy revels at large in the new countries; while the climate and general conditions of each country in which our race has really settled is steadily and surely shaping the people in a new mould.

We are all asking, what will the future be? How will the Colonies develop? What will be their future relation to the Mother Country? What will happen in India? How will the empire itself stand in relation to the world a hundred years hence? But we can focus these questions more definitely. The true patriot will not concern himself primarily with the physical greatness of the empire, with its strength for offence or defence, with its wealth or prosperity: he will ask rather of the moral and spiritual value of it as a factor in the world's progress. Is our empire a force for good?

And can we make it more effective for good by the efforts and sacrifices we may make in our own generation? The greatest factor of all in the making of a nation is Religion. What is the religious condition of the empire, and how far has England's Church followed the English flag? These are great questions indeed; and the practical importance of them lies in the fact that all our policy and work to-day must be framed in accordance with the answer we give.

In this paper the answer must be attempted from the point of view of Australia alone; and even so, there is a danger lest the local circumstances of Queensland may be unduly emphasised by one whose work lies in that State. Still, there are certain characteristics so obviously common to all Australia, that we cannot be wrong in setting them down as the main elements in the situation.

The first impression in the mind of a newcomer to Australia is the entire obliteration of the Church (the term is used in its widest sense) from the political landscape. In these days the position of the Church as a nation-maker is far different from its position of old. In England's early days the Church—as represented by the archbishops and bishops, the abbots and monasteries—was a sort of Admirable Crichton, including in itself all the talents and energies which were needed for the framing of society. The best statesmanship, the widest views of life, all philosophy and all learning, had their home in the Church. Her wealth was enormous, and the ablest and strongest men filled her high

offices, and found in them, even in secular things, a career worthy of their powers. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Church of Theodore, of Dunstan, of Anselm and Becket was a commanding force in the shaping of the nation. She took the lead in matters secular as well as sacred, and there was no rival. But now all is different. Step by step the Church has retired under the competing influence of secular thought. The secular world, as embodied in the State, has risen up and claimed as its own the domain of secular life, and the Church has said good-bye to temporal power.

It is easy to see how greatly this change affects the making of a nation under modern conditions. The modern nation, so far as secular organisation is concerned, makes itself; and the Church is warned off courteously but with clear determination, from matters which do not concern her. As a consequence of this—fortunately, as most of us will think—the Church no longer commands the services of able but unspiritual men; she has naturally lost, or almost lost, the glamour which went so far to commend her influence to men's minds under the early conditions, and in Australia, more perhaps than anywhere in the world, the Church must do her work with no antecedent advantages, and with no ready-made attitude of reverence in the mind of the people.

But there is a more serious element of contrast. The modern Church is divided. In the early days, the English branch of the Catholic Church was the only religious institution to be found in England,

and when men contemplated a religious life they had to choose between the Church and nothing. In modern Australia all the manifold ramifications of Christian belief and government which have grown up since the Reformation are freely reproduced; and although on the whole our differences do not, thank God, lead to the bitterness which we deplore in older lands, yet they mar our influence, and the nation loses incalculably, because in moral and social questions the Church is unable to speak with a single united voice. The Roman Catholics, numbering in Queensland according to the census of 1901, 26 per cent. of the population, hold aloof from the other Christian bodies and take their own line with regard to the moral and social questions of the day; the larger Free Churches act together, but, like the Anglicans, are increasingly conscious of the activity of smaller religious bodies with which they are not altogether in sympathy; while the Anglican Church, numbering 37 per cent. of the population, occupies a middle position distinct from the Roman and the Free Church attitude alike. In these circumstances, it is natural that the hunger for reunion should be strong; and although there is no more prospect of immediate and general reconciliation here than in other parts of Christendom, yet there are signs that the Protestant bodies are feeling the grievous anomaly of the present situation, and are anxious, at least to consider, their several positions in relation to one another and to the rest of Christendom. In November 1906, a conference was held between Anglicans and Presbyterians, under

the presidency of the Archbishop of Melbourne, which has stirred up considerable interest; while in Queensland the association of Methodists, Anglicans, and a large section of the Presbyterians in the campaign for religious education has raised an unmistakable attitude of expectation with regard to closer relations. These symptoms are altogether encouraging, and we can only trust that the "unity of the spirit" will wax and grow; but at the same time we must distrust all short cuts to reunion, and at present the safest, wisest, and most truly hopeful course is that adopted by the Melbourne conference—a course of patient study, and frank discussion of the points at issue.

It would seem then to be a small part which the Australian Church will play in the great and fateful development of the coming century. Ignored officially by the State, and divided in herself, she will not again stand out upon the arena of public life; and although here and there a great ecclesiastic or religious leader may rise and compel the world's attention, yet the day of her direct secular influence has now gone by. Henceforth her power must be applied through other channels. In truer harmony with her Lord's definition, she must operate as the salt of the earth, the light of the world, and working so, will exercise a greater spiritual power than ever before. For, paradoxical as it may seem, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Church still remains the paramount power in Australia. In spite of all the restrictions, the official ignoring of religion, the secular systems of education, the mutual competi-

tion of her various sections, the solid indifference in the great centres, the blank pagan ignorance in the bush districts, the terrible prevalence of the sins of impurity, the heavy drinking to be found in many parts, the carelessness, the shallowness, the love of pleasure—in general, the surrender to this present world, Christian public opinion does still dominate the land. The sincere Christian man, whatever his faults, does command everywhere a sincere respect. The Christian ideal is cherished in a thousand homes where there is no outward profession, and the heart of the nation remains sound. It is true that the Church is called to work on new lines; the Church, like the individual clergyman, will be respected not for the traditions she brings, not for any prestige which may seem to have belonged to her, but for what she is. In Australia she has a fair field and no favour, and nowhere in the whole world—humanly speaking—is true devotion more sure of its recompense of reward. The prospect then is full of hope, though the circumstances are changed; and if only the Church is faithful, the chance is still before her of shaping the life of a great continent in a noble mould.

But in forecasting the future of the Church in Australia, there is one characteristic which we must recognise as fundamental in the Australian character, and the very bed-rock upon which we must build. That characteristic is the national sentiment. It is not as yet very apparent on the surface; and in Australia's internal relations, anything like a federal sentiment seems to be overwhelmed by the pre-

valence of State jealousies. But the national sentiment is there, and will be more and more felt. It is worth any one's while who seeks to understand Australian ideals to refer to Mr. Jebb's "Studies in Colonial Nationalism" for a wonderfully acute and accurate diagnosis of the situation. The upshot of the whole work, is to show that all the four great self-governing Colonies have nationalism as their ultimate ideal;¹ and although this by no means involves disloyalty to the Mother Country, yet it does involve bonds of a different kind, and bonds which will be strong in proportion as their legitimate aspirations have perfect freedom of development. "The colonial ideal," he says, "is an alliance "of a character more intimate and comprehensive, "and therefore more permanent, than is connoted by "the conventional use of the term. From the present "writer's point of view, a programme which substitutes imperial reciprocity for imperial free trade, "commercial treaties for the Zollverein compact, has "a significance far wider than its trade aspect. It implies the first substitution of alliance for federation, "of the colonial ideal for the English ideal, as the "guiding principle of closer coherence between the "Mother Country and the self-governing Colonies. "Alliance recognises separate national aspirations; "federation aims at national unity." These words are certainly true of Australia. Nothing impresses itself upon the Englishman in Australia more than the strength of the national sentiment in almost all sections of the community. It is impossible to

¹ Cf. pp. 51, 185.

ignore it, and there is no appeal which meets with a more certain and constant response than the appeal to Australian patriotism. In the press, at political meetings, in the commercial centres, we find the idea of nationalism shaping itself, and with it, as a corollary, the instinct of self-help. "Let us work out our own destiny, let us pursue our own ideals"—that is the sentiment of Australia. It is none the less intense because it is often beneath the surface; and although the older views of imperialism still prevail, they will surely go down as the new sentiment acquires force. "The development of national consciousness," says Mr. Jebb, "is a process of internal friction, the old order painfully and slowly yielding place to new. . . . It is visionary to imagine that vital common measures can be devised until the last of the procession" (*i.e.* of the self-governing Colonies) "is further on the road to national maturity. Meanwhile it is the part of imperial statesmanship to note the unalterable direction of the road, and to realise that if concentration is desirable, it is easier to quicken the followers than to turn back the leaders." The Nationalist sentiment undoubtedly extends to the Church in Australia. It is true that here, as everywhere, the Church moves slowly and is rightly conservative in her instincts, but it is nevertheless clear that the same desire to realise its individuality and to work out its ideals, which is found in the commonwealth generally, is present also in the Church.

In the higher regions of Church polity, this tendency is shown by the ever-recurring questions

as to our precise relation to the Church at home. Does that relation, men ask, involve a complete subordination of all our Church law here to the law of the Church of England? The answer of the lawyers appears to be in the affirmative. The Church in Sydney and Melbourne is tied by Acts of Parliament to the home Church; and even in some of the newer States the dioceses, though founded on "consensual compact," have voluntarily bound themselves to the interpretations of the Prayer Book laid down by the Privy Council. The subject is a large and difficult one, and this is not the place to discuss it. It is sufficient to say that the ideal which is steadily shaping itself here—though, let us hope, more peacefully—is the ideal of South Africa, according to which the great self-governing Colonies will eventually have each their own national Church, free with all the independence of grown-up daughters, but linked to the venerable mother by the metropolitan's oath to Canterbury, and by those ties of affection and loyalty and devotion to a common Lord which will hold the great family together long after legal connections have dropped away. Meanwhile the only fear is rash or hasty action; it is better to wait on with undefined or even confused relations, than to precipitate a change for which we are not fully ripe. It is enough for the present, as Mr. Jebb says, "to note the unalterable direction of the road"; for the rest we are content to wait and grow.

The national spirit is shown again on the practical side of the Church's work, in the objections

which are sometimes raised to the system of importing English clergy for a period of five years. However great may be the benefits to the clergy themselves in experience and a widened outlook, the advantage to the Australian Church, it is urged, is very questionable. The inexperience which young Englishmen must always bring with them of Australian ways and habits of thought, handicaps their work in their earlier years; and soon after they have learnt to be really useful they depart, leaving gaps in the ranks which it is increasingly hard to fill. I cannot personally assent to this view. In Queensland, certainly, the work done by English clergy is beyond all praise, and the Church here owes them an immense debt of gratitude; while the objection to the shortness of their sojourn is met by the fact, that in most cases the five-year men out-stay their term and work on seven or even ten years before they return. It is certain that in Queensland for many years to come the demand for English clergy will be urgent and continuous.

It is very true, however, that the problem of men will never be finally solved in Queensland or elsewhere by a system of reciprocity with England. The great paramount necessity of the Australian Church is a native ministry. And this necessity is not due merely to the fact that the supply of men from England is utterly inadequate to the demand. It is bad for the Church to depend for its ministry upon outsiders. A Church loses incalculably where there is no open door to the ministry, where there is no theological college to provide an

object-lesson in the training of young men for the priesthood ; where, above all, there is no vent for the aspirations of even the poorest whose heart God has touched with the fire of service. The best way of winning back the working-classes to the Church, and the surest way of strengthening the Church herself, is to open the doors of the ministry to every section of the community ; this, at least, is the great need in Australia now, and to this we are directing our most earnest attention and resolve.

In its internal government, again, the Church reflects the prevailing spirit of the people. Australia is known and watched throughout the world as the great arena of democratic experiments. The Government, both of the Commonwealth and of the individual States, is thorough-going democracy. Everywhere manhood suffrage is established, and in most of the States, as in the Commonwealth, the suffrage extends to women. In this atmosphere it is not surprising that the Church has returned to its primitive characteristic, and is frankly democratic. Diocesan constitutions may vary in detail ; but everywhere plenary constitutional powers are vested in the diocesan Synod ; and bishop, clergy, and laity alike sign a declaration of submission to its authority. This ordinance, commonly known as the "Consensual Compact," is now generally recognised as the basis of the Church in the Colonies ; and its practical effect is to give a democratic colour to the government of the Church. As a system it works thoroughly well ; for, while all the powers of leadership and executive lie with the proper

diocesan officers, and the Episcopal status and authority is effectually safeguarded, yet the ultimate power lies where it ought to lie, in the representative body, consisting of bishop, clergy, and people. Here, however, it will be sufficient to mention two satisfactory results of the system. The first is the prominence of the laity in the affairs of the Church. Not only do they hold the power of the purse, but in every parish, beside the representatives in Synod, there are parochial nominators who have an effective voice in the appointment of the clergy. It would be too much, perhaps, to claim, as a result of these powers, any marked improvement in the attendance of men at church in Australia, as compared with less democratic England; but at least the laymen are interested, and, on the whole, recognise their responsibility for the well-being of their Church. The other notable result is a very general disappearance of class distinctions. That these should altogether cease is perhaps more than we can expect. But in Australia, and especially in the bush districts, they are reduced to a minimum, and the contrast between Australian and English society is perhaps more marked in this than in any other respect. On all public occasions, whether sacred or secular—at the bush services, at public meetings, at social parties—rich and poor, educated and uneducated, are merged together without self-consciousness on the one side, or servility on the other, in a free intercourse which is as Christian as it is democratic. And although the Church cannot claim the sole credit for this happy state

of affairs, yet she has here an unrivalled opportunity of fostering the Christian spirit, and of moulding society upon the basis of the true Christian relation between man and man.

It is impossible in a review of the Australian Church to ignore the inequalities which exist in the status and well-being of its various parts. The Australian States are of various ages. And accordingly the Church in the older States is comparatively strong, settled, and affluent; while in the younger States it represents a problem of poverty in men and money, which the outside world seems incapable of recognising. The difficulty of finding men for the parishes hardly exists in Sydney, Melbourne, and some other dioceses of Victoria and New South Wales. In other dioceses of those States, and throughout the rest of Australia, the problem presses for solution, and with ever-increasing urgency as we travel north. The result may easily be imagined. The parochial system can hardly be said to exist. Our parishes, even in the settled districts, are huge spheres of influence in which it is utterly impossible for our single-handed clergy to cover the ground; while beyond them stretches the illimitable bush with its scattered settlers, and its children nurtured in virtual heathendom. Thousands of our people are necessarily quite outside the ministration of the Church, while even those who are within reach know but little of the close relation with clergy and sacraments which is characteristic of Church life in England. Our great need is pastoral work; and real pastoral

work under the present conditions is simply impossible.

The same differences exist in the financial position of the Church. In the older centres the diocesan funds rest, more or less completely, on endowments. But in the newer dioceses endowments do not exist or have been swept away in the commercial or climatic troubles of Australia. It seems impossible by any device of man to replenish these empty exchequers. The Church in England is perhaps naturally sceptical about the plea of poverty in a country whose wealth and great future are freely proclaimed; but the fact remains that for diocesan objects in the north-west of Australia, and in the dioceses of Carpentaria, North Queensland, and Rockhampton, money seems well-nigh unattainable. We are reluctant, indeed, to plead poverty, but if help does not come from outside to strengthen the tottering fabric in these regions, it is difficult to say what the future may bring.

If the above survey represents at all accurately the condition of the Anglican Church in Australia, it will be recognised that the situation is a complex one. Like all young things, like the Commonwealth itself, the Church in Australia is at once strong and weak, is sensitive with the pride of independence, while at the same time dependent and wistfully looking for help. There is a desire to throw off the parental control, and withal a desire to enjoy the parental support. No doubt the position is illogical, and we cannot be surprised at those who

regard it so at home. But we plead for indulgence. Ours is the normal condition of youth; and we can only appeal to the Mother Church to have patience when appeals seem unreasonable, and to play a mother's part where the need is great.

The present condition of things will not always continue; already in the south the Church shows a strength and fruitfulness which gives fair promise for the future; already the New Guinea mission has learned to rely upon Australia for its main support. Australian-born missionaries are working in China and India; Melanesia draws large help from us, and in the past few months one young Australian has won a martyr's crown there, and another has volunteered to fill his place. And who knows what the future may bring forth? Who can measure the resources of strength and devotion which still lie dormant in this great continent? To-day we are struggling for existence; our handful of men are battling at tremendous odds against the difficulties of a new country,—the materialism and the natural difficulties of heat, drought, and distance; our institutions are feebly holding together, often in poverty and distress: but our weakness is the weakness of childhood, and time is on our side. The time is coming, if God will, when an Australian National Church will repay, and more than repay, all that she has received in the past; when she will contribute a noble witness of faith and saintliness to the great sum total of the Catholic Church; when

from her shores native-born missionaries will go forth to evangelise the eastern peoples at her doors; when childhood will have passed away, and the Church will have grown into the stature of the fulness of Christ.

NEW ZEALAND

“AN ILL-CONSTRUCTED QUADRILATERAL”

By the Right Rev. M. R. NELIGAN, D.D., Bishop
of Auckland, N.Z.

THERE are some big troubles ahead of a man writing an article for this book. Things like these bother him: Where can I begin? Where can I leave off? What can I possibly leave out? There is such a lot to say, and there is so little room to say it in. I suppose every one who is keen on their work finds the same troubles. I am certain every writer for this book from the Britain beyond the seas experiences the difficulties of condensation. It would be a help to be a condensing machine. Colonial bishops have to be machines for expansion.

I shall try and group what I want to say under these headings:—(1) The Anglican phenomenon. (2) The Anglican method for missions among coloured folk. (3) The Churchman as he is, and the needs, in a young nation. (4) The Anglican contribution to collective Imperialism.

This book is a collection of articles, not a reference library of treatises. Therefore, if other men are like me, the contributors will be rather objection-

able people who simply suggest points and leading thoughts without adequately working out anything.

1. *The Anglican phenomenon.*

The more you think of it, the more wonderful is that religious society we call the Church of England. It is called the Anglican Communion when we want to be very grown-up, but we really mean the Church of England. In the Colonies we are rightly proud of our autonomous churches and so forth; here in New Zealand we talk of "The Church of the Province of New Zealand," but then we always add "commonly called the Church of England." I dare say they do the same sort of thing in Australia and other Colonies,¹ but it really does not matter: we all mean the Church of England. The New Zealand cabman drives you to, what he calls, "the English Church." That is the point; it is the English Church to everybody, much as the Union Jack is the English flag. Everybody, whether he helps to support the English Church or not, believes he has as much right to the ministrations of the clergyman of that Church all over the British Empire, as he has to the protection of the English flag. That is one thing.

Then there is another: the Church at home is an interesting study. The intelligent stranger desirous of studying the Church in England, would be a bit bothered if he inquired about Convocation. He would find that this Council of the Church made no claim to represent any electors except a

¹ *Of.* p. 146.

few privileged persons like Deans, and Canons, and Rectors. Ordinary Curates could not expect to have such an extraordinary privilege, as a vote for a man who really would be a representative of the Clergy as a body in Convocation. The stranger may next try what the Church newspapers have to tell of the Church in England, and he will turn to the "Correspondence" columns of the *Guardian*, *Church Times*, *Record*, and so forth. This, he imagines, will explain the sort of thing these English Churchmen in England think and talk about. But does it? The poor stranger's intelligence is bewildered. Here, year after year, are men writing about the words "Mass," "Altar," "Table," "Number of candles," "Should the clergy smoke," "A priest with a moustache," and other queer things; while the heading "Retired Archdeacons" suggests a frightful Church crisis over gaiters and aprons.

I have a French friend, a charming gentleman, in his country's diplomatic service, who is intelligently interested in the things he sees in other countries. He tells me something like this: I do not understand you people of the Church of England, you seem to me to be so very queer in the way you do things; but, then, your English character is queer, and so I suppose your Church of England ways suit it.

The sort of things that we have described above would naturally seem queer to a visitor who did not have the opportunity of seeing other things. There are other things to see; for instance, if the visitor will go to the houses where S.P.C.K., S.P.G.

C.M.S. and other societies do their business, he will see many things worth seeing, and hear much to provoke his admiration. But the things most worth seeing, and the things most worth hearing, can only be found outside the headquarters of the societies and away from England.¹

It is not difficult to ridicule the English way of doing things in or out of England, but when a man gets away from England, and studies the life of the young Colonial nations, then he begins to think that, somehow or other, the English character is the finest thing in the world, and that the Church of England has, in some strange way, a remarkable power of attaching her sons and daughters to her in all parts of the world. The average Englishman is a poor theologian, but he does believe in his Church, perhaps not very clearly but certainly very affectionately. This real object-lesson is to be seen in the life of the Colonial churches. This is the big thing in the Anglican phenomenon.

2. *The Anglican method for missions among coloured folk.*

Some men will say that the thing hardly deserves the word "method." Anyhow, this is the sort of proceeding that takes place in England or in the Colonies when a missionary bishopric has to be filled. Certain good people meet together, say some prayers, and quite conscientiously "call" an

¹ See, for same idea from another point of view, article in *Times*, weekly edition, September 7, 1906, on "England in the Pacific."

earnest and devoted man to go to Melanesia, Shantung, New Guinea, or somewhere else. A good deal of real prayerful interest is taken in the man's consecration to the Episcopate. The Home Church, or the Colonial, General or Diocesan, Synod, is quite keen and excited, and in earnest for the time being. The people say quite honestly: "We really must back-up so and so; he is such a good fellow, a perfect saint, just the man for a missionary bishop. What can we do? Why, we will give his work the collection at his consecration; it is sure to be good, and it will be an encouragement to him. Then, of course, he must start an association for his diocese; we will help him all we can because it really is grand work, and he is such a dear fellow, and knows such a lot of people and is so much loved—why, the thing will go splendidly."

These good people mean it all so much that the sequel is all the more dreadful. In a few years other interests occupy the great men of the transaction; the friends of the missionary bishop do not increase in London, Sydney, Melbourne, Wellington, Auckland, or wherever he started from, because (oh, is it not piteous!) "he is so far away, and he comes so seldom to see us, and to tell us about his work."

And so, little by little, interest languishes, if it does not die; the first band of fellow-helpers who went out with the new bishop is not added to, nor are even the vacancies filled, and funds get lower. So the story goes. And, all the time, there is that man called and commissioned by the Church

"eating his heart out" in his loneliness; probably he is soaked with fever, and his weary body finds it ill-work trying to nourish a very weary brain distraught with anxieties. The man never complains: that is what makes him a hero. The loneliness and separateness from others develop a wondrous companionship and friendship with Jesus Christ: that makes the man a saint.

Does the Church, as a body corporate, care? Individuals do, and their hearts ache for the man. The Church, as a body corporate, apparently does not care. Why? Well, chiefly because the Church, *as a body corporate*, has no ascertained science of missions, no Intelligence Department, no Bureau of Information, no Colonial or Foreign Office, no War Correspondents. The whole thing is so utterly haphazard that this sort of result is inevitable. What does the Anglican Communion in Australia or New Zealand know about the missionary work in Nagpur, Zululand, Uganda, Mackenzie River, Kaffraria? Why, Melanesia, New Guinea, Carpentaria, are only names not realities, to many Antipodean Churchmen. What does the Church at home *in general* know about such work either? How many Churchmen in England know the appalling fact that the Church of England is the only religious body in the Pacific which has not done its stipulated work, agreed on by George Augustus Selwyn, in the name of the Church, sixty years ago? How many care? Does the following convey any tangible idea to the Church at home? A new diocese must be established in North-West

Australia; the present Bishop of Bunbury is responsible for an area of 420,000 square miles, wherein reside Englishmen, Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and about 40,000 Aborigines; the only religious bodies at work now are the Anglicans and the Romans; the diocesan staff consists of one priest, two deacons, and one lay-reader.¹ There are other instances of my point, but this one will do. The average Churchman at home, if ever he heard of Bunbury, probably thought it was very like Banbury, "where the cakes come from," or thought of "the funny names they call places in the Colonies"; indeed some who read this article will think that North-West Australia and New Zealand must be rather close together for a New Zealand bishop to be so interested in it.

Since I have been in New Zealand I have had a letter of commendation from an English beneficed clergyman about one of his parishioners who had gone to live at Dunedin, a city distant over 800 miles from Auckland, and just possible to reach by two nights and two and a half days hard travelling. One of my clergy has had a letter from another English beneficed clergyman "commending to your kind pastoral care" a family settling in Brisbane, a city in Queensland 1360 nautical miles direct from Auckland, and occupying, by usual route *via* Sydney, at least five days to reach. The ignorance of the geography may be excusable, but the thing that passes one's comprehension is, — the ignorance about the Church of England. Bris-

¹ *West Australian Church News*, September 1906.

bane is the seat of an archbishop, Dunedin of a bishop.

The instances quoted are not exaggerated, nor is what is thus laid bare peculiar to the clergy. Facts like these are fairly serious. Is it really worth bothering about whether or not you kneel or sit at the Epistle, whether or not people have flowers at funerals, whether or not a black or a green stole is worn, whether "retired archdeacons" wear gaiters, and "suffragan bishops" are called "my lord," or not (*vide* Church papers), when Church people everywhere know so little about their own Church?

Somehow or other we Church people, all over the world, want more vision; we get so dreadfully parochial and small. We talk about missions, about "the Church's duty," about "the call with authority," and a whole lot of other things. We want a good deal less academic respectability, and a good deal more piously practical enterprise; less talk about "our historic Mother Church," and more knowledge of the geography and history of the continents and islands where the daughter churches live. If Mr. Jebb¹ is right, and the empire must learn to think in terms of collective imperialism, the English Church must do the same. Begin there, and something will have been done to stop the horrid scandal of sending men out, and then leaving them and their work to sink or swim, without the Church, as a whole, bothering very much. If the children in our Sunday and day schools knew

¹ "Studies in Colonial Nationalism."

more about Hannington, Patteson, Field, Selwyn, Broughton, Tyrrel, and the other empire-builders of the Church, the accuracy of their knowledge with regard to the names of the kings of Israel and Judah, and the list of places in the Pauline missionary journeys might safely be left unascertained, without endangering the Christianity of our children, but with the certainty of improving their conception of imperialism.

When we try to get some sort of perspective, we cannot help seeing and thinking in a way we never can when we are quite close to the object. Sometimes, when one tries to see the English Church in imperial and missionary perspective, one is a good deal alarmed because some things that look ugly get into view. It may be, of course, the English way of doing things. The methods of the Church may be, in consequence, like those of the War Office. Perhaps Lord Rosebery is the only true apostle of Anglo-Saxondom, the only man who has discovered the protoplasm scientifically denominated as the Englishman, and perhaps the only gospel to preach and believe is,—“somehow or other we muddle through.” One does not know. One does get a sort of “sinking” feeling in one’s soul when one thinks of bishops “eating out their hearts” because they are not backed up. It is not comforting to read the Bishop of New Guinea’s letter to the Australian Board of Missions, and to know that for twenty years¹ Australia has not sent one of her own clergy to the special

¹ Rev. Copland King was ordained in 1886.

mission of the Australian provinces. Nor is one's soul much lifted up with pride and thankfulness when one thinks of our New Zealand special mission, Melanesia. There is only one New Zealander now working in that mission. Yet General Synod passes "good strong resolutions" time and again, and we talk delightfully about "the great George Augustus Selwyn," "the charm of Bishop John," and the glory of the national story we own in the martyrdom of Bishop Patteson. Again, who knows—outside S.P.G. Office—of the devoted priest working all alone in Fiji among 20,000 coolies from India, or of the Melanesians numbering over 2000, who belong to the Church of England and now live in Fiji, but have no priest of their own. How many Church families in an English country town would remain true under similar circumstances?

Is something radically wrong, or is "muddling through" to be the only method possible for people who pride themselves on the orderliness of the Prayer-Book system, and dislike what they call the disorderliness of the Nonconformist system? England alone is said to be short of over 1000 clergy,¹ while Australia and New Zealand cry aloud—*more episcopo*—for more men from the ranks of the native-born. What is it that is wrong? Want of method? Want of intelligence? Want of imagination? Tithing of mint and anise, and neglect of the weightier matters? Growth of luxury? Decay of pluck? Can it be that it is none of

¹ "East and West," July 1906.

these things in particular; but that it is a want of vision, not seeing "the Lord high and lifted up," a want of prayer because we do not quite and entirely believe in the real presence of the Holy Ghost? God knows! Perhaps He means to teach us and lead us to better things through the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908.

Probably St. Paul's difficulties were greater than ours. We can, at any rate, try to be like him, "as sorrowful yet always rejoicing." There are scenes on which the sunlight of God falls. We can rejoice over aspects of work in India, Uganda, Melanesia, New Guinea, Maoriland. A New Zealand writer naturally knows more personally about the Melanesian and Maori work.

Many of our Maori clergy are examples of devotion, work, intelligence. In this diocese alone we have sixteen Maori clergy; in the province more than double as many. Some of them are ministers of regular Maori parishes; some are missionaries to the apostate members of their own race; not infrequently do our Maori clergy minister to the white settler in things spiritual. Clergy and laity of the Maori race make their communions together with, and sit side by side in our synods with the European, and possess a voice in our affairs equal to that of the white priest or layman. Our synodical system has always preached that there is to be no "colour line" in New Zealand. Probably in no country in the world is there less idea of the "colour line" than in New Zealand, ecclesiastically or politically.

In Melanesia we read of some ten native clergy being at work, of a body of 550 Melanesian teachers and lay workers, and over 200 mission stations.

In New Guinea we read of nineteen Europeans, twenty South Sea Islanders, and nineteen Papuans being at work. The Bishop speaks, hopefully and thankfully of the work of the South Sea Islanders. Is this the story of Uganda being re-told in the Pacific Islands?

3. *The Churchman as he is, and the needs in a young nation.*

His needs spell the imperialism that lasts. There is only one permanent bond of empire; the common faith. The fate of the British Empire depends upon the religion of the white man. The fundamental axiom of imperial expansion must always be: keep the white man Christian. The coloured man cannot long keep true to our Lord if he sees the white man relapsing into paganism. The coloured man is what the white man makes him. This is "Our Father's" plan for the welfare of His family. Explorers, travellers, ethnologists, scientists, all proclaim this fact, and there is no getting away from it. Therefore, the needs of a Churchman as he joins in the new life of a young nation are expressed accurately when he says to his Mother: help me to keep true to you, for only thus can I be of moral benefit to the empire.

In a new country there is a danger of men relapsing into paganism, as well as of people growing

up in almost total ignorance of the elementary facts of the Christian faith. Let me recount two incidents as illustrations. A settler said to me: "Bishop, the horror before us men is that we shall learn to do without God. For God's sake send us a man to help us and give us the Sacraments." I quote this man's words; but the same sort of thing has been said to me by scores of men in the country. Again, one of my country clergy presented a fine young fellow for confirmation two years ago. The young fellow had been under instruction for the greater part of a year; one day he began to ask questions about our Lord; gradually he told the clergyman that he never had heard about Jesus Christ, but he had one day seen "a picture of a man on a cross, and I suppose that must have been the Jesus Christ you are telling me about." I could give other instances of similar white heathenism. One could, of course, find things of the same sort in London, Leeds, or any big town; but at any rate, the State system of education at home used to afford some guarantee that such cases were rare. The State system in New Zealand provides a guarantee that such cases need not be rare—we are now reaping from seed sown since the State schools became secular here in 1877. (If any reader is shaky on the need for denominational schools, let him spend twelve months in a country where there are none. He will learn a good deal worth learning.)

The Churchman in a young nation varies in type; so he does in the Old Country. We have the casual, the nominal, the loafer, the cadger, the unemployed,

the unemployable types of Churchman just as you have at home. We find the types most varied in the towns; there we most come across a certain type of immigrant who, accustomed to the advantages to his pocket resultant from an endowed Church, resents having to pay for his religion in a new country. Then we also have, as in England, a variety of religious "cranks"; the difference is: here they are noticeable, at home they are not. The facts here are bad for their souls: vanity is ministered unto.

For variety of unsatisfactory, quaint, and "cranky" types, a new country is as an old one. In the new they are less numerous, but more conspicuous than in the old. Otherwise things are much the same in both countries.

But a new country "brings out" Churchmen, whether in town or country, in a way an old country cannot. The Churchman here has to (1) build his church; (2) pay for its upkeep; (3) pay his parson; (4) support the Home, Maori, and Melanesian Missions; (5) go long distances to his church; (6) keep his own pioneer work going; (7) have services conducted by lay readers very often. It all means "hard graft," as we call it here, for the Churchman. In New Zealand we "live on" the land; *i.e.* without the farmer, the countryman, the pioneer settler, we should starve. Our exports are about £16,000,000 per annum. Something between £12,000,000 and £13,000,000 of that comes out of the land. And so if you want to understand our Churchman as he is, you must get out of the big

towns and into the country. It is in the back-blocks and small settlements that you see the thing at its best, at its worst, and also at its truest, because in its most elemental form. I do not for a moment claim that the country settler is a saint above other men, but I do claim for him a right to spiritual help and sympathy beyond that of most other men. Words cannot explain the settler's life in a new country, and so I am not going to emulate the language of the advertising agent of this or any other colonial government. Until you have seen the thing you cannot understand it. All I can do, is simply to state the conclusions of my own experience, won by constant travelling and in all sorts of places. It is impossible to find more kindly, responsive, hospitable folk than our country settlers. It would be hard to find men taken all round who value more highly the opportunities—rare in too many places—for worship and instruction. I have almost invariably found men more numerous than women at church in the country. Domestic reasons partly account for this. The average country settler thinks about, and wants to hear about God. I have sung old-fashioned hymns (raising the tune myself) and talked on spiritual things, in a settler's house with ten or twelve men, none of whom have come less than three miles on a dark night. I have spoken to over sixty men gathered together out of a scattered country district, of whom probably fifty have had to ride five or seven miles. I have celebrated in a settler's house, situated miles from anywhere, on a week day, with over a score of com-

municants, two-thirds of them being men. From what the clergy tell me of their ordinary routine, added to my own experience which might be regarded as being extra-ordinary, I am satisfied that a very large number of men in New Zealand are stretching out longing hands to the old Church to give them the only food that can keep them good men. There are, no doubt, "cruel habitations" and "waste places"; but taken all round, I believe the facts are as I have stated. The bitter sorrow is: we have nothing like enough clergy. "White man missionary work" demands men of singular gifts. The home missionary or country parson must not only be physically strong, but spiritually strong as well. He has to lead a lonely life, has to be the leader, has to create the atmosphere. But then the settler does value the parson who is dead in earnest and is a man. My own experience is, the average country settler does not care two pins about the parson's "school of thought," he does care about the parson being a man like himself, and that he should be a better man because he is a parson. The parson who has no convictions about essentials is no use in the colonies; neither is the parson who has got "party" opinions about non-essentials which he mistakes for convictions. We often have to take services in State schoolrooms, wool-sheds, public halls, private houses; every one will "roll up" to them in the back-blocks; the congregation will include Christians of every denomination; the parson learns from this sort of ministry what matters, and what does not. But again, if the

service is in the little wooden building dedicated to God, owned by the Church, built, often after years of struggle, by the settlers, then the man will not win respect from any single settler unless he follows his Prayer Book, and teaches the great big things of life according to "the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." I can best illustrate the sort of "accommodatingness" that a person may have to learn out of England, by telling a story of one of my lay readers, who is as strong and definite a Churchman as you could find anywhere. This man lives in the country; he came out from home some years ago with his wife. He told me that he had been an acolyte in the Old Country, at a church I myself knew well and the vicar of which I dearly loved (*R.I.P.*). When this man came here, he said, he held non-essentials as dearly as essentials; but now "I get my communion six times in the year, and even then in the afternoon; but I am thankful to get it at all." This story illustrates the thing I want to make clear: we want definite Churchmen in the colonies, far more definite than you have any conception of at home on the essential verities, but we have no room for men with "frills," or fads, or "party" ideas. *We want missionaries.*

4. *The Anglican contribution to Collective Imperialism.*

The British Empire is an entity composed of federated nations. The Colonies "qua" Colonies have ceased, or are ceasing, to exist.¹ They have

¹ *Of.* pp. 51, 159.

become, or are becoming, nations. Politicians at home who are sane, and have vision beyond that required for membership of the council of Little Pedlington, recognise this. The same stamp of politician in the Colonies also recognises it. These sort of men are thinking hard on the subject; so are Churchmen of the same stamp. It will take a long time before either Downing Street, or the Conventions, or Provincial Synods see their way through the situation and learn how best to deal with it; but it has got to be squarely faced. Probably Mr. Jebb's "Studies in Colonial Nationalism" has called attention to the facts in the most popular way; but something else is wanted if the best and widest view is to be taken. We want some man, with the historic sense and with sanity of judgment, to study the problem of Imperialism from this point of view:—what, if any, influence has the Synodical system of the autonomous provinces of the Church of England had in the evolution of colonies into nations? I believe myself that an investigation of this character, would result in the discovery that the Synodical systems of the autonomous Colonial Churches have been playing a very potent, if silent, part in the creation of nations.¹ Neither the Church nor the colony has been aware of the process; but I believe the thing has been going on all the time. Is there any connection, one wonders, between such things as these?—the form of exercise of the authority of the Federal Government is different in Canada and Australia; in both countries there is also a difference

¹ Cf. p. 199.

in the form of exercise of the authority of the General and Provincial Synods. In New Zealand again, the form of exercise of authority of General Synod is slightly different. Has the General Synod of the Church of Ireland contributed aught to the growth of the desire for self-government in Ireland? Things like these are worth thinking about and trying to think out. No one, so far as I know, has tackled the question. It wants a Stubbs or a Creighton. The race of great men has not died out in the Church, "pace" the pessimists and croakers and secularists. God will raise up some man to do this bit of work in His own time. Many of us believe that the British Empire has been called into being by God, and therefore we can believe that, if we are faithful to Him, He will put it into the hearts of the right men at the right time to do the bits of work that most want doing, in order that the lasting principles of Empire may be known and accepted of all men. As G. A. Smith well says in his "Isaiah," "God's commonplace is man's opportunity." There are a good many Imperial commonplaces offered to us by God. What I have suggested about the Synodical systems has been one.

Another seems to issue from it. We have to do for the English word "Imperialism" what St. Paul did for so many Greek words: give it a higher, because Christian, meaning. To a certain extent the word is in the gutter; it has got dirty, soiled with ugly spots, stained with unclean handling, used for ignoble purposes. Sometimes indeed it is so covered with mud, that one is not surprised

at politicians, of the street-urchin class, throwing it at one another without knowing that they are throwing anything but mud. The Church has got to take this word out of the mud and dirt; to clean it and polish it; and show that it is a gem potential of lustre iridescent from its facets. The Church has to let the "Sun of Righteousness" exhibit "the beauty of holiness" shining in the precious thing called Imperialism. People, no doubt, thought St. Paul was a mad enthusiast when he consecrated to Christian use Greek words of mean repute. But he did the thing he meant to do. So can we if we believe in God as St. Paul believed in Him, not otherwise. Some of us who have been connected with the Junior Clergy Missionary Association movement from its very first meeting of members,¹ can remember the expressions in use in those days by the average man, cleric or lay. "Returned Empties," "Oh, he's a Colonial parson." "What has so and so done that he is going to work in the Colonies?" and the like, were ordinary expressions. When we began to talk about the "to-and-fro movement" and the "Council for Service Abroad," and that a priest in England was as much under the obligation for Imperial service for God as was his brother in the Army, Navy, or other service for the Crown, we were regarded by not a few as being hot-headed, inexperienced, upsetting young men. But slowly a change has come—nothing like what ought to have come, nothing at all to boast about; but there is change. This book itself is a

¹ St. Pancras Vicarage, 1890.

real evidence of it. Now we have to go on pegging away until every Churchman, cleric or lay, has looked at the word "Imperialism" on his knees. "In Thy Light shall we see light."

Then again, we have got to think out some sort of Federal Council for the Anglican Communion, anyhow for that part of it which lies within the empire. Here are autonomous National Churches, each of them producing its own particular type of man, cleric or lay. We have to think of these National Churches in terms of Collective Imperialism, a federation of provinces. This does not mean that the great societies are to be abolished. That can never happen. The Anglo-Saxon Churchman is not a Latin Churchman, and never can be made into one—for which praise be! But a Federal Council will help the supporters of the great societies to read their support in terms of empire. That is the thing that is wanted, and the accomplishment of it ought not to be beyond the wit of man. Anyhow, if we believe in the real presence of the Holy Ghost, we may be quite certain that guidance on the subject will be given.

The General Synod of our New Zealand province passed the following resolution at the session of 1904: "That, in the opinion of the General Synod of the Church of this province, the time has come when the various provinces of the Anglican Communion within the empire, and the Missionary Dioceses of the Church of England, must speak and act as one body, if the Church is to meet adequately the tasks and problems that await her in every part

"of the world, and that therefore there is need to consider the erection of a Federal Council of the provinces and dioceses above-mentioned, which shall in some real sense represent the Church of the empire." This is our message to the home Church. We know something of isolation in this far-off bit of the empire. We know more of the needs of the white man and the heathenism of the coloured man. We do not offer any cut and dried scheme. We say that we are sure the time has come for considering how best to erect some sort of Federal Council.

In Mr. Jebb's book, to which I have already alluded once or twice, there is a suggestive thought. His idea is, that the High Commissioner of a self-governing nation within the empire should be a sort of ambassador representing a partner-state sovereign in all but name, at the Imperial court. He should be a Privy Councillor, and attend meetings of the Cabinet when external affairs were being considered. The idea may, or may not, be practical in affairs of State; that is a matter for Downing Street to think out. But the Church might well try to think out the underlying principle of this idea in connection with her Imperial work. Would it be possible for each province at least, to be represented by a man possessing certain authority on behalf of that province, in a Council which would "in some real sense represent the Church of the empire"? "O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old

time before them." That is a statement of Christian Imperialism.

"O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for Thine honour." That is a statement of the only way in which Imperialism can be kept Christian. The Prayer Book teaches it to-day, and has taught it for over four hundred years. Therefore we shall go on, in the name of our God, working for Church and Empire.

THE WEST INDIES

"THE WESTERN HEPTARCHY"

By the Most Rev. E. NUTTALL, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica
and Archbishop of the West Indies, and the Rev.
THOMAS PARKER GEORGE.

PREFATORY NOTE

WHEN I was asked by the Editors to furnish an article on the West Indies for this book I felt that I could not properly refuse, but in reporting my willingness I stated that the time at my disposal would not allow me to do the work entirely myself. I secured the services of the Rev. T. P. George, then Curate of the Parish Church, Kingston, Jamaica, who has performed much the greater part of the work in this article. The additional burdens laid upon me as the result of the recent earthquake in Jamaica have also prevented my revising it with care. Indeed, my own share in the production of the article has chiefly been formulating the general outline in detail, supplying information, and making such amendments, additions or curtailments as seemed to me necessary. In taking the full responsibility of the work as to facts, it would be

much less than justice if Mr. George's name were not associated with my own in the publication of this article.

E. JAMAICA,
Archbishop of the West Indies.

April 4, 1907.

THE recent terrible disaster which has overtaken Kingston, the capital of the largest island of the British West Indies, has had one good effect, in that it has stirred the hearts of Englishmen to renewed interest in this part of the empire, once "the brightest jewel in the British Crown," but long forgotten "as a dead man out of mind," the jewel lustreless and out of fashion, stowed away among the heirlooms of the empire, and unconsidered as an out-of-date possession.

There was much more general knowledge of the West Indies, and far more interest taken in their welfare in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in the nineteenth, for they were the theatre of the great wars with Spain and France, which gave to the British Empire the control of the sea; and, above all, their teeming soil gave vast wealth to individuals and the Mother Country. The combined effect of emancipation (1834) and the new fiscal policy of the Mother Country, however, brought about the decline of the sugar industry, and with it the prosperity of the islands departed. With their failure as a field for get-rich-quick

investors, the interest taken in them waned to sentiment, and from a position of great importance to the empire they became associated in the popular mind only with romance and bloodshed, with buccaneers and pirates and deeds of derring-do.

It is true that the beginning of the twentieth century gave signs of a renewed if belated interest being created. The Sugar Bounties Commission, increased facilities for tourists, and the banana trade arrested for a moment the steady progress from bad to worse, commercially speaking, which threatened to overwhelm even the well-nigh inexhaustible hopefulness which is the characteristic virtue most cherished, and needed, in the West Indies. This new impulse of energy and promise, aided as it is by sound agricultural education of the peasantry, despite of hurricanes, earthquakes, and other natural obstacles, may yet be the foundations of a new material prosperity.

But this paper has to do, primarily, not with the material, but with the moral, social and religious progress of the West Indies, and here we have a different story to tell. Alongside of material decay there has been great advance, steadily achieved, in all that makes for the spiritual, moral and social betterment of the inhabitants of these islands, and the portions of the South American mainland (British Honduras and British Guiana) associated with the British West Indies Island dioceses within the ecclesiastical province of the West Indies.

It is necessary, first of all, to say a word as to the geographical extent and character of the pro-

vince, as these are not generally realised in England. The province comprises the dioceses of Nassau, Jamaica, British Honduras, Trinidad, Antigua, the Windward Islands and Barbados, and British Guiana. It stretches in a direct line from North to South over 1600 miles—that is from 27° N. latitude to the equator, and from East to West 2200 miles; that is from 52° W. longitude to 89° W. The conditions of the dioceses are as varied as they well may be. Contrast, for instance, compact Barbados with its dense, settled population and complete diocesan machinery—this island being the most thickly-populated portion of the earth's surface outside of China—with Honduras, the greater portion of which is as yet virgin forest, and its sparse settlements bartering stations for Indian tribes. Or Nassau, the English-speaking diocese of over a hundred small islands, of which only about a fifth are regularly inhabited, with British Guiana, a slice out of an almost unknown mainland with a huge aboriginal population, speaking many languages or dialects—Arawak, Acawaio, Warau, Carib and others—as well as its white settlers, imported negroes and East Indian coolies.

In the West Indian dioceses proper, the islands that is, there are practically no aborigines, no “natives.” These were almost exterminated by the early Spanish governors and settlers, and the islands which, when discovered by Columbus were, as Las Casas tells us, “as full of people as hives are of bees,” had hardly any traces of their original inhabitants left as they came one by one within the British Empire. The

Western Isles were inhabited originally, roughly, by Arawaks, a mild, peaceable and kindly people, and those to the East by the more warlike and cannibal Caribs. But peaceable or ferocious, they were alike almost entirely destroyed by the Spaniard; generally by great *coups* of bloodthirsty treachery.

Among the many differences which distinguish the West Indian Islands from other parts of the empire, one of the most striking is the fact that, while elsewhere Great Britain in her colonies dispossessed and absorbed, or settled amongst the original inhabitants, here, having driven out the usurping Spaniard, she found herself alone, and proceeded to *import* a population to garner the fruits of the wonderfully fertile soil. White colonisation was tried first; but the West Indies have never been and never will be a field suitable for white colonisation proper, the climate preventing the white man from successful continued manual labour. Cromwell sent thousands of his Irish, Scottish, and English Royalist captives, together with felons of every degree, to the islands, to labour, practically as slaves, on the new plantations where labour was so scarce; but the experiment was not successful, and large numbers of the unfortunate involuntary immigrants died within a very few months. There have probably never been in the West Indies at any one time as many white people as are now pouring into Canada yearly, and to-day the white proportion (in Jamaica as 13 to 800) is a relatively diminishing one. The white man's possibilities are limited to the professions, the headship of business concerns, land

owning, and oversight of properties. The early settlers soon discovered that this was so; but meanwhile growing sugar was discovered to be one of the most profitable occupations to be found, and one which demanded a large amount of manual labour. The most suitable supply for the demand was pointed to by the example of Spain, who had begun to import negroes to take the place of the Indians murdered on the islands, even before the introduction of the sugar-cane. But the odious commerce in human freight between Africa and America was systematised and expanded by Britishers to such an extent, that Bryan Edwards estimated the total imports of African negroes into the British colonies of America and the West Indies, from 1680 to 1786, at 2,130,000, an annual average of 20,095; and thus it was we got the bulk of the present population of the West Indies. To-day there are about the same number of persons of African descent in the islands¹ as there were aborigines, "whose innocent blood cries out to God for vengeance."

It is difficult for us in these days to imagine the West Indies, British or otherwise, without a large negro population and without sugar estates; yet it is necessary to realise that it was the cultivation of an imported exotic plant—the sugar-cane—which was the cause of the imported exotic population.

The sugar-cane, a native of Asia, carried by slow stages from the East to the West between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries, became the

¹ That is about 3,700,000=83 per cent. of the population.

arbiter of destiny for millions of the peoples of Africa ; the real centre and cause of two centuries of war between the European nations ; the means of transferring an empire from one Western nation to another ; the source of social, political, and ultimately moral and spiritual revolution in two hemispheres. It helped England to become mistress of the seas, and dethroned Spain from her trans-continental empire. It gave Great Britain possession of many of these fertile isles of the Western seas, but it left her with the responsibility for the public wrong which was done therein in developing and maintaining the evil system of slavery for so many years ; and it has left her as a *Christian* nation morally bound to give of her best to the present inhabitants of these isles, in reparation for the past misdeeds of the sons of the nation, and under her Christian flag.

England's Church has accepted this responsibility, and for the past eighty-three years at any rate has been doing her best to atone for past inertia, among all the population—European, Negro, Coloured (half-breeds), East Indian Coolies, Chinese, and (in British Guiana and Honduras) aborigines, as they came within the sphere of her energies. The history of her awakening to her duty and privileges, and of her struggles to evangelise and educate the negroes in the face of opposition, poverty, and periodic cataclysms of nature, may be, and should be, read in Professor Caldecott's "*History of the Church in the West Indies.*" Space is wanting even to summarise this history here ; but two points should be kept in mind in estimating what has been accomplished in the province by the

Church. One is, that the negroes when imported (and importation only ceased a hundred years ago, in 1807) knew no English, and were drawn, indeed, from numerous African tribes, some tribally hostile to each other, and each with a distinct and unknown African dialect or language. The other is that, owing to the Church having become unfortunately identified in the negro mind as the white man's Church, she at first made less headway than the various nonconformist bodies among them. All this is changed now, but still the Church of England cannot claim and does not claim anything more than a holy rivalry with other Christian bodies for the good of the whole population. To-day all the negroes have been in a sense evangelised, and are, at any rate nominally, Christians; and active religious efforts are being put forth on many sides, and much greater efforts needed, (though hindered by poverty and the almost overwhelming claims of ordinary "parochial" work on the all-too-few clergy) among the numerous heathen immigrants, Chinese and East Indian, as well as (in Guiana) among the aboriginal inhabitants. There is one language—the English language—for everybody in the Islands; a most important Imperial asset, and a circumstance which makes the work of the Church easier and more direct in effect. The Asiatic, the African, the European, and the aboriginal American are here brought together and develop side by side under the one flag, with equal laws for all, with one language. The heathen among them are coming into God's inheritance, learning the Englishman's Faith and the Englishman's lan-

guage at the same time; and the experience of the Church of England Bishops, as expressed in their Pastoral Letter at the Provincial Synod of the West Indies of 1901 is that—"Where our branch of the Catholic Church is faithfully represented, it is able to proclaim the Gospel of Christ and to present the Church of Christ, in such form as to meet the spiritual needs of the manifold races of mankind, and to furnish them within its wide fold a true spiritual home, in which they may dwell as faithful sons and daughters of Christ and His Church."

The islands are many, they came into the empire at different times and in different ways; there is little inter-communication, or none, between them; the local politics and problems vary widely each from each; there is no political centralisation or federation, except through the cable to Downing Street; but the Provincial Synod of England's Church bridges the seas and brings the dioceses together as a new heptarchy, which may lead the way (as the Church did in England) to a closer imperial federation and autonomy, in which the voice of the rapidly growing race of black Britishers may be heard.¹ Loyal they already are—loyal to the core, and with a devotion to the Mother Country which is wonderful when their history is considered. Centuries of wrong on our side repaid to-day with such loyalty that troops and warships can be, and have been, withdrawn as unnecessary expenses.

A hundred years ago these people were still being brought, laden with chains, thousands of miles, to be

¹ Cf. p. 186.

knocked down to the highest bidder; and having been bought they were the terror of the purchaser. The history of one hundred and thirty insurrections reveals what they were. To-day in Jamaica a white lady can walk, unattended, throughout the length and breadth of the island, and find nothing but kindness and courtesy from the black people. What has made the change? Nothing but the faithful preaching of Christ crucified, and the steady sympathetic pressure of every influence which radiates from Christianity, however outwardly expressed.

It is not too much to say that the "negro problem" has been practically solved in the British West Indies. The "colour question" is dead with us. There is no parallel to be drawn with the conditions which prevail in the Southern States of America. The class of offence for which the organised crime of lynching is so terribly frequent in the Southern States is unheard of in the islands. There are differences everywhere and all in favour of the British West Indies. The superiority of, say, the Jamaica negro over the American negro strikes the American at once. "What," said an American business man to the writer on board an American liner, "What do you *do* with your negroes in Jamaica? I have never been to Jamaica, but I have met them in Cuba and in Panama, and they seem so *different* from ours—so much better educated, so polite, none of that bumptiousness ours have. How is it?"

"It is entirely due to the difference in the treatment," was the reply. "Under the Union Jack we

treat the negro as a *man*. He has no separate 'coloured' church as you have everywhere—no 'John Crow' cars—no special legislation. We treat him sympathetically and equally as far as can be. We recognise that there is as much gradation between one black man and another, as between one Englishman or American and another. We encourage him to put forth his best, you seem to expect him to show his worst, side ; and so you get it."

There are, of course, many other circumstances which combine to make the "negro problem" a far different and more hopeful thing in the West Indies from that in the Southern States. The conditions of life in the West Indies are more natural to the negro—more like Africa itself might be under British government. The environment is better. There are few or none of the "southern poor white" class in the West Indies to contaminate the negro, and to make him lose respect for all white men. The white men he has met in the West Indies have been, on the whole, those whose natural place it seemed to be to lead and to command. His social life, again, is different. Even in slavery times in the West Indies the negro was allowed to have his own "provision ground"; and, since emancipation, there has been and there is rapidly growing up a class of peasant proprietors or "small settlers"—the true *colonists* of the West Indies—which is changing the character of the islands, or some of them, from a collection of large estates owned in England, to colonies of small proprietors, who are gradually

learning the advantages of scientific cultivation and of co-operation, though both are hardly yet realised. Politically, as education advances, the West Indian negro is taking his part with increasing intelligence in local and colonial affairs. There are negro, coloured, and white sitting together and working most harmoniously on local boards and colonial assemblies. The qualifications for the franchise are lower than in England, and the negro is aware that his vote is as good as any one else's even if he does not trouble to exercise it. In his religious life, as might be expected, the West Indian negro, as a race, is not yet fully developed. The lower orders of negroes have still a large remnant of African superstition and witchcraft, belief in "duppies" (ghosts) as being the cause of illness, &c., and of the power of certain knowing ones (the "Obeah-man," pale shadow of the African witch doctor) to put these "duppies" "on" or take them "off" if paid to do so. The lower orders have also in the West Indies, as similar classes have in England, more regard for fervency than for sobriety in their worship, and follow the "revivalist" more readily *for a time* than the steady-going regular forms of devotion; but it is a complete libel on West Indian Christianity to think that it consists even largely of the "O dem golden slippers" style; or that revival meetings, camp meetings and the like are the true expression of the negro heart. There is a larger class of the "lower order" among the populations of the West Indies than in some parts of England, and their religious and moral charac-

teristics, while much the same in quality (allowing for the more emotional nature of the negro) are more obvious in quantity, that is all. But among the higher grades of negro society, the proportion of really devout earnest communicants and steady church-goers is at least as high as among the middle-class population of England. White and black kneel together at God's board side by side as joint members of the same family of God.

Perhaps the chief glory of the Church in the province is manifested in the wonderful way in which, especially since disestablishment (1870), the activity and co-operation in every direction of laymen of all classes—white, black, and coloured—has been evoked. As members of diocesan synods, councils, financial boards, trustees for Church property, churchwardens, voluntary lay readers, church committee men, catechists, Sunday school teachers, members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, on the administrative and spiritual side of the Church's work; or as average Church members, willing out of slender resources to subscribe ninepence or a shilling a month for Church support, or to give, when need arises, free labour or free material towards building or rebuilding churches and schools, the laymen in these islands are strengthening and building up their Church. Home and foreign missionary work is being pushed forward by the intelligent black people themselves. Indeed, it is no longer the whites alone who are the most active in the work of evangelisation, the lead is taken very largely by those of African descent.

The Pongas Mission, or to give it its full title, the West Indian Church Mission to West Africa, is a striking example in this connection of what may be hoped for increasingly from the negro race in the future. All the missionaries since 1865 of this unique mission have been coloured men. It was a noble conception of Principal Rawle's that, as the West Indian negro was brought from Africa against his will, he should return thither voluntarily to tell what great things God hath done for him in the place of his exile. The missionaries are trained within the province, at Codrington College, Barbados, and the Jamaica Church theological college. Some women students are also being trained for missionary work in West Africa, under the guidance of the Jamaica Deaconess' Home.

Where can we find a parallel in all this with the condition of affairs in the Southern States? The problem of Africa in America has yet to be faced in the States, and the British West Indies must be an object-lesson from which much can be learnt. Our negroes are, of course, taken as a whole, still in a transition stage. They need guidance and wise direction and control, and will need these for a long time to come; but under such guidance there seems to be a great future of infinite possibilities before them. The problems—racial, social, and industrial—of the West Indies to-day, present material as interesting to the philanthropist or the politician as are those of countries or colonies largely populated by conquered "native" races or by recent immigration from Europe. Their religious problems are of in-

creasing interest to thoughtful Christian people. The rapid advance which the negro in the British West Indies has shown all along the line, is an earnest of what may be expected in the future. This advance is seen to coincide with the religious efforts put forth on their behalf, and exemplifies the truth of the profound remark of Bishop Lipscombe (first Bishop of Jamaica), that "The fear of the Lord is the beginning, not only of all wisdom, but of all civilisation and of all advances in the scale of rational beings;" for Christianity stands for the making as well as the mending of mankind. It believes in the discipline of improvement, as well as in remedial offices in behalf of the unfortunate; and so, along with the Faith, the Church in the West Indies is steadily and persistently teaching good citizenship and intelligent loyalty, in the place of crude and false views of the principles of government: and for incompetence and inaction she is ever trying to substitute efficiency, self-reliance, and the true idea of the dignity of labour, with much success.

One of the most hopeful features of West Indian Christianity is the fact, that the West Indian Churchmen—negroes and others who have gone to settle outside the British dominions, in the non-British islands and on the mainland, in Venezuela, Dutch Guiana, Columbia, Costa Rica and elsewhere—have proved the reality of their convictions by not only remaining loyal to the Faith, but in many cases by becoming themselves active missionary pioneers and church builders. They have caught the spirit which animated their Bishops, when, in 1901, the latter wrote

in the Pastoral Letter of the West Indian Provincial Synod: "True-missionary work is not only the sign of life, but the necessary stimulus of life in the Church. The extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom is part of our Christianity."

If to this we add the fact, that the various dioceses of the West Indian province, besides their own Home and Foreign Mission work and some help to the efforts mentioned in the preceding paragraph, send annually some contributions to the great missionary societies in England, it must be admitted that in spite of isolation and poverty, and notwithstanding disestablishment and disendowment, the necessary sign and stimulus of life is not wanting in these dioceses.

And who shall tell of the *indirect* missionary work of the province through East Indians and Chinese, evangelised in the West Indies, returning to their native lands, hundreds at a time?

Be it remembered that practically the entire work of the Church westward of Barbados is supported by the voluntary contributions month by month of the West Indian Churchmen themselves—the vast majority of whom are black and coloured people earning, perhaps, a shilling a day on the average.

Every shade of thought that finds its place in the Anglican Church to-day, finds also its expression within the many-sided Church life of the province, thus allowing for comparison of results which should be most valuable to the Church at large. Every phase of Church activity, from that of the ordinary

settled congregation (answering in many respects to what obtains in an English parish) to that of the, itinerating pioneer missionary in unknown territory, is fully represented within the province, giving to the Provincial Synod a breadth of view and elasticity in effort, greater perhaps than in any other similar body of the Anglican Communion. This also has its value from the standpoint of Imperial Christianity.

Looking backward over the past century since the slave trade was abolished (1807), two main factors stand out prominently as helping to produce the marvellous social, moral, and religious revolution which has taken and is taking place—a change greater than that which has passed over the attitude of men's minds with regard to the climate of Jamaica, which in 1807 was known as “the white man's grave,” and is now referred to as “the New Riviera.” These two factors are the establishment of a local Episcopacy in 1824, and the disestablishment of the Church in most dioceses in or about 1870. The ecclesiastical history of the West Indies proves beyond cavil the extreme value of the Church's normal diocesan organisation and life as a stimulus and aid to development and activity. The difficulties created by disestablishment have been enormous, but the advantages which have accrued have been many and great. It brought in its train freedom from cramping prejudices, social and racial. It gave, through the new diocesan machinery which had to be set in motion, a greater sense of the corporate life of the Church. It gave a wider scope

for the interest and enthusiasm of the laity. It taught West Indian Churchmen a much-needed lesson of self-reliance and self-denial; and impressed upon them the recognition of the scriptural duty of giving. Above all, it demonstrated the inherent strength and vitality of the Church.

The century has witnessed long-standing errors retrieved; apathy turned into earnestness; carelessness replaced by zeal; the Church of the Anglo-Saxon become the spiritual home of all races on an equal footing; the Church formerly identified with the slave-driver now leading the way in acts and ideals of brotherhood; an exotic Church transformed into a true West Indian patriarchate; the islands which were the foci of demoralisation, now centres of evangelising influence; the guilt of blood which attaches to England, now being atoned for by the Christian efforts of her Churchmen and religious teachers from other religious bodies; the bitter feelings inherited from a bitter past dying out, and being replaced by feelings of the deepest affection and loyalty. "History," says Lord Acton, "is the true demonstration of religion."

The Church of England in these lands, in common with all other religious bodies, owes, of course, a great deal to the State, for the *Pax Britannica*, for the elements of material well-being—railways, steamers, telegraphs, posts, telephones, highways, medical and sanitary officers, the even administration of justice, aids to education, and other factors of social welfare and civilisation; but it is often overlooked how much the State owes to the Church,

in common with all other religious bodies. The things that make for national righteousness are most important to the State, and the Christian conscience is the most valuable asset any Government can have. The State supplies the body, the Church of Christ the conscience, the *motive* to adhere to what is right. The eternal ideas which underlie the government of society, and of which laws are the outward expression, must be translated to the individual mind in terms which can be understood, and this the Church is doing every day. She asks, when she requests liberty to give moral and religious instruction in elementary schools, to be allowed to do this work at the earliest possible moment, and to supply the necessary deficiencies of government, in the sphere of moral and humanitarian reform, by creating the sense of moral responsibility which alone can lead up to such reform. It is only political short-sightedness which fails to realise the exceeding value *to the State* of the religious and moral education of the people in the day schools. Social and political order flow from, not into, Christian channels. As Gladstone said: "The Christian thought, the Christian tradition, the Christian society are the great, the Imperial thought, the tradition and society of this earth. It is from Christendom *outwards* that power and influence radiate, not towards it and into it that they flow."

The true education of a people, the education, that is, which is rooted in Christian ideas, and is *seen* to be so rooted, prevents political evil, and

effects political good, and is the foundation of moral worth, the only real value of any man to the world.

In the West Indies, whatever may be the case elsewhere, there is yet most urgent need for every influence that makes for morality and a sense of responsibility to be steadily kept at work wherever opportunity offers. "The negro [in the mass] is still only on his way to civilisation and Christianity." His great weaknesses are the want of a sense of responsibility, and a failure to stand alone. His great need is a truer conception of home life. There is a general average of over 60 per cent. of illegitimate births throughout the province, and, until this is very considerably diminished, neither religion nor education nor civilisation can be said to have done more than begin its work; though it is fair also to remember that the 40 per cent. that has been gained is all *net* gain, and *that* within two or three generations, from the time when these people were forbidden to marry, but encouraged to produce offspring. Now "purity is one of those things which Christian ideas and influences produced, and it is a thing which they alone can save,"¹ and it is hopeless to expect to inculcate these ideas and influences effectively during one hour alone every seventh day in the Sunday School.

African superstitions, "Obeah" and the like, are not yet eliminated, nor will be until the mental and moral enlightenment of the people has become

¹ Dean Church, "Gifts of Civilisation."

more general. Still, the old superstitions have a greatly relaxed hold upon even the lowest of the people, and the progress of Christianity in these islands is remarkably rapid as compared with Mohammedanism, for instance, in India, where "eight centuries of Mohammedan rule," remarks Lord Lawrence, "had left the masses as strongly wedded as ever to their system of caste and their religious belief and rites."

The Church of England and other religious bodies in the West Indies have devoted much time, attention, and money to primary education. They stand ready to assist the State in every way in any efforts to provide for and improve that education along right lines; but most of them feel that such lines necessitate the inclusion as part of the school curriculum, of simple definite Christian teaching. In Jamaica the leading men of eight denominations have agreed upon a catechism of such teaching acceptable to all; and they now hope that it may be accepted for general use in the day schools, as setting forth what may be effectually inculcated in the ordinary elementary schools, and as representing the *minimum* of what the children should learn, in their early days, if the progress of the people in the future in all that makes for human happiness and intelligent citizenship is to continue, as it has, under such teaching, already begun.

From the foregoing pages it will, we hope, be seen that, while the Church of England can claim no monopoly of the forces which have been brought

to bear upon the religious and social condition of the West Indies, or of the encouraging results of those forces, it has, within the past century at any rate, been well in the van of the advance which has taken place. The ideals and tendencies of its work are, too, just those ideals and tendencies which foster the true Imperial idea. The Church of England stands for the essentially English conception of perfect freedom within a definite order; centralisation of direction, with local adaptability of the means employed in detail; reverence for due authority, with sufficient regard to the rights of each individual. Its world-wide organisation tends to unification of the empire on its spiritual side, and the link of the colonies and dependencies with the Mother Country is greatly strengthened by its close connection in all its parts with Canterbury, which may be called the mother city of the empire. The forces of non-conformity lay undue stress upon the individualistic idea, an idea which is essentially disintegrating; while the tendency of the Roman Church is to lead men's minds away from the English Imperial centre to a different and in many ways antagonistic centre—Rome and not England is for it the ultimate source of all authority, spiritual and temporal.

The whole Christian Church, established or otherwise, is and must be, necessarily, the spiritual organ upon which the State, consciously or unconsciously, depends in any efforts for the amelioration of social life. All the problems which the State has to face are at heart spiritual problems. When Englishmen

and Churchmen realise the great spiritual responsibility which this lays upon them, and that the remarkable position which the British Empire and the English Church hold, is a position of trust and a great opportunity of the highest service to mankind, we may hope that a new age of chivalry—Christian chivalry—may set in, when the “adventurers” who, in General Gordon’s view, “made England great” will be succeeded by adventurers of the Cross: when the lower aim of Imperial and commercial expansion shall yield the foremost place to a passion for Christian Imperialism, and the rallying cry shall be, not merely, “England and the Empire,” but “The Empire for Christ!”

As regards the West Indies, the white people therein form only a small nucleus and a relatively diminishing one; and they must not be left by Churchmen in England to bear the whole white man’s proportion of the burden of the vast work which remains to be done for the evangelisation and civilisation of this portion of the empire. “The negro,” it has been well said, “has always served others. He must, therefore, be very near to the heart of Christ, and may be first some day.” That day is not yet, but meanwhile a great missionary work and a wonderful opportunity is placed before Imperial Christianity.

The time is ripe for renewed energy on the part of the Church at home to complete what has been so well begun. The work was never more promising, the means never less. More men are needed, and men of the highest type. The full work of the

Church in the West Indies has been hindered from within by poverty, and from without by neglect on the part of the Church at home in her corporate capacity. No new policy seems to be needed, but a fresh flood of practical, energetic sympathy for the poverty-stricken workers, to let them feel that the heart of the Church at home is indeed with them.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND IMPERIAL IDEALS

By the Right Rev. W. T. GAUL, D.D., Bishop of
Mashonaland.

THE religion of Jesus Christ is imperial because it is Catholic, and is imperative because it is universal. This is its essential character, this is its final sanction, and this, after all, is its complete and attractive, and entirely satisfying verification. Go to a savage in some Kaffir kraal; talk to him about the somewhat and someone that surrounds his birth, life, and death, and he will agree not only to their existence, but will admit and even demand that they have imperious claims upon at least his fears. And he will assert their universality within his own experience and conceptions. He is but a child, with a child's vision, but with a child's innate demand to fill his world with being, existence, powers, that will correspond and company with his own thoughts, feelings, and experience. This need not and will not in any final sense be called a religion, but it contains the germ, principle, embryo of the religious instinct inherent in every man, by which he knows, and feels

more than he knows that he must be in harmony with himself and the *All* that surrounds him. The native Witch-doctor, or Medicine-man has one object in his incantations and prescriptions, and that is to adjust his prophecies and claims exactly to the fears, wants, and imaginings not only of the individual, but of the whole tribe; and only so far as he does this is he acknowledged as High Priest: *i.e.* he must be felt to combine the personality of the individual with the personality of the tribe and so to sound the final note of *universality*, as understood by a Kaffir. So with a child. His home is his world and his father the last appeal. His dream-world corresponds to something within him and without him. He asks strange questions, he fears, he wonders, as his powers within develop, and as the facts and forces around him impress him and demand interpretation. But you must not play with his fears, dispise his wonderment, or stifle his questions. He must have an answer which will be final to himself and, within his world, universal. Carry this thought on in the life and development of the individual, the tribe, the nation, the race, and we shall surely see or feel at once that the craving of the religious instinct in humanity is for a religion which is not only "at unity with itself," not merely positive and authoritative, but which claims and makes good its claims to harmonise material with spiritual, the individual with humanity, and lastly, humanity with God. It must be as personal as our own personality, grow with its growth, adapt itself, like an atmosphere, to all change, gather up

SOUTH AFRICA

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND IMPERIAL IDEALS

By the Right Rev. W. T. GAUL, D.D., Bishop of
Mashonaland.

THE religion of Jesus Christ is imperial because it is Catholic, and is imperative because it is universal. This is its essential character, this is its final sanction, and this, after all, is its complete and attractive, and entirely satisfying verification. Go to a savage in some Kaffir kraal; talk to him about the somewhat and someone that surrounds his birth, life, and death, and he will agree not only to their existence, but will admit and even demand that they have imperious claims upon at least his fears. And he will assert their universality within his own experience and conceptions. He is but a child, with a child's vision, but with a child's innate demand to fill his world with being, existence, powers, that will correspond and company with his own thoughts, feelings, and experience. This need not and will not in any final sense be called a religion, but it contains the germ, principle, embryo of the religious instinct inherent in every man, by which he knows, and feels

more than he knows that he must be in harmony with himself and the *All* that surrounds him. The native Witch-doctor, or Medicine-man has one object in his incantations and prescriptions, and that is to adjust his prophecies and claims exactly to the fears, wants, and imaginings not only of the individual, but of the whole tribe; and only so far as he does this is he acknowledged as High Priest: *i.e.* he must be felt to combine the personality of the individual with the personality of the tribe and so to sound the final note of *universality*, as understood by a Kaffir. So with a child. His home is his world and his father the last appeal. His dream-world corresponds to something within him and without him. He asks strange questions, he fears, he wonders, as his powers within develop, and as the facts and forces around him impress him and demand interpretation. But you must not play with his fears, despise his wonderment, or stifle his questions. He must have an answer which will be final to himself and, within his world, universal. Carry this thought on in the life and development of the individual, the tribe, the nation, the race, and we shall surely see or feel at once that the craving of the religious instinct in humanity is for a religion which is not only "at unity with itself," not merely positive and authoritative, but which claims and makes good its claims to harmonise material with spiritual, the individual with humanity, and lastly, humanity with God. It must be as personal as our own personality, grow with its growth, adapt itself, like an atmosphere, to all change, gather up

all human experience, reveal all possibilities, interpret all aspirations, co-ordinate all thought, train all moral force, and express all beauty in terms of its own supreme, universal and absolute revelation. And the Christian religion is this, or it is nothing but a guess and a dream, destined to "pass by us, like an idle wind which we respect not."

But the creed of Christendom is an everlasting appeal to everlasting facts—Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Perfection, are co-ordinated to the character, the attributes of God in His personal relationship to the universe as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The facts themselves, as Westcott says, are no more unique than the universe itself. But they establish for evermore the relation, the union between the finite and the infinite; and the religion founded on them must be therefore absolute, of universal obligation, all-embracing, "giving permanent reality to human knowledge through the Incarnation, and permanent reality to human life through the resurrection."

Now, the Anglo-Saxon race is Christian. Without dwelling on the question of varying politics, views, or schools of thought and experience, here is a great solemn, inspiring fact: that this Anglo-Saxon race of ours has inbreathed into the very life and fibre of its being the one true absolute and universal religion that alone can reconcile all antithesis of thought, satisfy aspiration, and so hold the mirror up to life, through the fact of the hypostatic union, that all individual and social problems find their solution in the revelation

that "sums up all things in Christ," reconciles all things in Christ, and shows "one eternal purpose" running through the ages.

And this Christian religion of ours knows no limitation of time, space, circumstance or experience. No family, tribe, nation, or race can confine its influence or operations to itself. It is as high as the heavens, deep as humanity, and knows no horizon but that of the infinite circle of the love of God. The resurrection of the Christ at once lifted Him and His humanity and His plan of salvation quite above the limitations of time and space. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me" must be predicable of the resurrection as of the crucifixion; and Christ's own charter and command to preach the Gospel to all the nations confirms it. As one thinks of it, it is wonderful how detached He was in His life, His acts, His doctrines, from local surroundings of time and space; and as it has again and again been pointed out, how enlarged and expansive was the horizon of the Apostles after the resurrection. Christ was *ex Maria* in the local and individual sense, but *ex humanitate* in the true universal sense of its solidarity. And Mary was "blessed among women" (ἐν γυναιξί); and Mary's Song is also the glorious anthem of humanity and all the ages, before its Incarnate God. Think of St. Paul and his imperial claims over, and on behalf of barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. The Jew might be the first of the elect family of God, the nucleus of the "election of grace," but he was only first in

a series whose term was universality, and the nucleus of that "new creation" in which "all the families of the earth should be blessed."

Now the problem of the Apostles is the problem for all time and for all their successors. St. Paul, citizen of the Roman Empire, yet Hebrew of the Hebrews, and Pharisee of the Pharisees, with the glow and grit of his imperial citizenship ennobling him, and with all the fervour of his divinely inspired national religion upon him, found himself on the Damascus road, as the lightning-flash of conviction fell upon him, in the presence of new final issues. The name of Jesus was to be "above every name" and, as Ananias would teach him, was to be borne by him to "all the nations, all kings," as well as to "all the people of Israel." The family, the tribe, and the nation were to be parts, not of a race, but from henceforth to be members of the "one body," fellow-citizens of the one "city of God," fellow-heirs of the one "kingdom of heaven." And in those immediate years of secluded rapture, of agonised discipline, and of reasoned meditation in the rocky solitudes of Arabia, baptizing his soul in that "light that never was on land or sea"—the "Light to which no man can approach unto," and yet "the Light that lighteneth every man"—his earthly imperialism was transfigured in the vision of the empire of Jesus Christ over universal humanity and all creation; and his divine, yet partial and merely national, religion of Judaism became transformed into the one only final, universal, and absolute

religion of the Holy Catholic Church "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone."

And this empire of the "one Lord Jesus Christ" differed from all mere earthly empires as the sun in the heavens differs from a veldt fire. Babylon consumes, destroys; Jerusalem which is above, brings forth nation after nation from her fecund womb. Christianity recreated the individual, the family, and the State, revealing to each baptized child of God a universal, absolute, and final ideal.

The "citizen of no mean city," "they that are of Cæsar's household," and "Onesimus the slave," in the glorious self-realisation of Gospel freedom, knew themselves to be not only "one in Christ Jesus," but knew, too, that *each counted for one*. But mere personal life soon exhausts itself, tending to egotism and sterility unless expanded into the family and public life; and as we read the first chapter of Church history in the Acts, penetrate the inwardness and apprehend the outlook of the letters of the great missionary apostle St. Paul, and lastly see the mystery of the ages unfolding itself, in the presence of angels and archangels, in St. John's great Apocalypse, we feel that man's individual destiny can only be fulfilled in humanity, and that too of humanity in Christ, in God. And so with prophetic instinct the great Apologia for the claims of the Incarnate Christ to universal dominion and sovereignty grows in irresistible force through the age of the martyrs, the centuries of the Lord's controversy with human philosophy and human "science, falsely so

called," until Rome, the last and most splendid of the empires of the world, and founded on force, lay first at the feet of the Church and then in her bosom. Then along the great highways which Rome, by an unconscious predestination, was to make for the Christ, the Gospel found its way, meeting the hordes of barbarians rushing to destroy with irresistible force and vigour the effete civilisation of the earthly empire, rotting as it was with luxury, palsied with vice, and paralysed by division. But by a magnificent and divine anticlimax, it was at the very gates of Rome that the barbarian host paid its ingenuous homage to the crucified in the person of the Christian pontiff, and the great wave of the Gospel rose and rose and flowed in the five succeeding centuries from Clovis to Charlemagne over the whole of Europe.

But the East has ever been the foe of the West. The cradle of the human race, and of religion, it has again and again, after raising mighty empires on force fought for universal dominion. Cyrus, with a splendid audacity, crossing the Hellespont, claimed world-wide sway. Thermopylæ, Marathon, and Salamis barred his progress, and raised an eternal tribute to the liberty of nations and the freedom of ideas. Alexander the Great struck a mortal blow by his conquests, and it was not for a thousand years that the East attempted to avenge itself. Then arose Mahomet, conqueror, lawgiver, high priest, soldier, statesman, and mystic combined. Having conquered the degraded religious ideas around him by the Koran, that "plagiarism of the Bible," and destroyed the enervated and unorganised life of Arabia

by the sword, he swept across the Soudan and Egypt, absorbing or destroying their degenerate Christianity. Crossing the Hellespont, like Cyrus, into Europe, Constantinople with its effeminacy and its factions became his prey, and the Crescent practically ruled, if it did not reign, from the Hellespont to the Pillars of Hercules. Once more the West arose, this time under the banner of the cross, and for six hundred years all that was best and bravest in Christendom faced and fought all that was noblest and most fanatic in the East. However mixed were the motives, the duel was fought with magnificent heroism on both sides, and the struggle was for a final issue. Charles Martel at Poitiers, Ferdinand at Grenada, Sobieski under the walls of Vienna, and no less Richard of England, only failing through treachery under the very walls of Jerusalem, placed the Cross above the Crescent by their heroism and devotion, and saved Europe a second time from Asia. The banner of Islam now floats half mast high, and Mahomet, at one time ruling half the world and coveting the other half, accepts the last insult to its pride and the last proof of its decay. Islam submits to mere existence in Europe on the sufferance, and only through the mutual jealousies of the Christian nations; and whilst showing a fitful propagandism from time to time in Africa and India, is fast losing all political force, and consents in her paralysis and moral weakness—forerunner of death—to be defended in Egypt and the East by Christian England.

But God, in His providential government of the

world, not only opens out a "pathway among the nations" for the conquering march of the banner of the cross, not only sets His Church as "a tower and fortress among His people," but finds a "way for her in the sea and a pathway for her in the great waters." For the last four hundred years He has controlled the adventurous commerce and exploitation of the world, whether inspired by high Christian ideals or by lust of conquest, to the advance of His kingdom. As an eloquent French writer says: "Jesus Christ has borne His flag over all the seas, bearing with it the supremacy of those who adore Him; and henceforth our laws, morals, arms, commerce, enterprise, all our arts, and all our designs, hover over the universe amazed at having for its ruler Europe, the narrowest and the weakest of the continents fashioned by God. The Atlantic, open to our ships, has revealed the world to us, and no land, however protected by its ices or its sun, has been able to escape from the curiosity of our science or the ardour for our faith."¹

England, by its wars, its commerce, and the splendid line of its adventurers in trade, travel, and exploration, has become the heir to the pioneer conquests of Christian Portugal, Spain, and Holland. She now rules over one-third of the earth's surface, and over one-fourth of the earth's teeming millions; and the Anglo-Saxon race, including our great and growing cousin of the United States, our Colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South, Central, and Eastern Africa, each, in the providence of God,

¹ Lacordaire.

destined to become a mighty nation, speaking one language, governed by one law of equal justice for all, and drawing the inspiration for its higher life from the one universal, absolute religion of Jesus Christ, is undoubtedly the predominating influence alone commanding the future of the human race in that solemn and awe-inspiring thought of the "federation of the world" under the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all."

And here at once we have the true imperial motive, inspiration, and end. The Incarnation "came not to destroy but to fulfil." It came to take the individual, the family, the tribe, the nation, and to redeem them from all the limitations of inherited or acquired sin and imperfection, and to complete in the larger, fuller life of the city, the nation, and the race, every faculty, power, and possibility; with every natural gift, every acquired virtue, and every dowered grace redeemed, "set free with the freedom wherein Christ hath made it free," consecrated to the service of the whole body of humanity, and receiving from the whole humanity in Christ the benediction of an infinite growth unto perfection in the "power of an endless life." If each is to count for one, it can only be fulfilled in the larger unity of the whole, as its sphere of operation, its source of inspiration, and its "guard of honour."

And the Catholic Church cannot be a mere bundle of opinions held together by arbitrary legal tape and sealed by a "Chairman of a Committee," nor can it be an association of select believers in a

book, nor a mere college of pupils, students, and professors of an idea or collection of ideas. To be Catholic, it must embrace all time and space. Arithmetic and mensuration are only convenient "modes of operation," but are not necessary to the nature of things in their final causes. Unity is more than the sum of a series of numbers, and extension more than a certain number of square miles. "All nations, kindreds, peoples, and tongues" is not a phrase for a political or philological atlas, but is as exclusive and inclusive as humanity itself, with the final term and operating cause of its unity "in Christ," like a thread of gold, binding and completing it for evermore in the eternal harmony and harmonies of the Three in One.

And this solemn and inspiring idea of a universal and absolute religion was never more needed than in the present age. Say what we like, and be as individual and parochial as we like, we are simply swept up into the larger, deeper unity of things in our politics, our commerce, our literature, our science and our art. Electricity has practically annihilated space, and steam and the possibilities of travel are obliterating the artificial boundaries of nationality, and will in no long time, in the judgment of the writer, disintegrate and finally dissolve the prejudices of race and language. The price of shares and commodities, the state of parties, and the movements of ideas, are as well known to-day on the banks of the Zambesi as in London or New York. Japanese professors at Tokyo discuss daily the progressive sciences of Europe and America, and criticise on equal

terms the astronomical calculations of Greenwich and Berlin. Every month there are able articles in the best European Reviews by Indian, Chinese, and Japanese writers, discussing the ethics and religion of the West. A Hindoo is in the British Legislature, and an Arab doctor of medicine sits in the Cape Parliament. Even in Africa I know of six native periodicals printed in one or other of the Bantu languages, some of them discussing intelligently political and social movements. Native cook-boys read their master's daily paper, and the women servants of the farm wonder at the fashion plates of "Mrs. Welldon's Journal." It is very instructive to read the great trade journals of the day. Every corner of the earth is now visited by the commercial traveller, who writes home to his firm intelligent and exact accounts of the conditions, tastes, habits of the various countries he visits, and their possibilities for trade exploitation. Great business and financial houses like those of the Rothschilds, Wernher Beit & Co., &c., have first-class, well-educated agents, with staffs of technically trained experts penetrating every country, learning every possibility awaiting development, and with immense sums of money ready at a moment's notice for exploiting new lands or financing fresh industries. There is practically no such thing, or will shortly be no such thing, as pure monopoly in politics, commerce, religion, or even social rank. In spite of a multitude of local interests, prejudices, and jealousies, all nations are either claiming a share in the life of every other nation, or are on their defence against

the claim. Visit any one of our British Colonies and see a "nation in the making," but with what elements! Take South Africa. Here we have first the indigenous native, partly Hamitic, partly Semitic, say five millions of them, and, mingling with them, working, trading with them, some 50,000 Indians and about an equal number of half-caste people. Now, too, at Johannesburg there are 50,000 Chinese. Then in Cape Town and elsewhere there is an inconsiderable leavening of Arabs, originally Malays from the East. Over this strange medley and ruling them there is the white race of European descent or migration—Dutch and English, with no inconsiderable number of German, Swedish, and Norwegian colonists. All these are gathered into five independent States, each with its own legislature, and more or less self-governing, but all connected and in close touch with the central Imperial authorities in England through their Governors and the High Commissioner. Every religion is tolerated and is free.

The Anglican, the Roman, and the Greek forms of the Catholic faith are represented, and, as they call themselves, the "Free" Churches, are strongly organised and ably represented. All take their part as citizens, and sink their differences for the common good. The Jews are much in evidence in trade and finance, and never weary in their praises of the freedom afforded them under the British flag, and show their gratitude by generous co-operation in public charities. As I mingle in public and private life, and in never-ceasing travel, with all sorts and

conditions of men and women up and down South Africa, from the Zambesi to Cape Town, notwithstanding various lines of cleavage inherent in strong natures, I am more and more convinced that all individual differences of race, language, policies and politics, and even the more accentuated prejudices in religion, at least in the Christian religion, are gradually being worn away, as the sea washes away an obtrusive promontory, by the persistent ebb and flow of the great tidal thoughts of the brotherhood of man in the fatherhood of God. In other words, the unity of the human race and its solidarity, and the unity of God in Christ are more and more asserting themselves along the line of least resistance, whether consciously or unconsciously, in service and sonship. All this to my mind spells sympathy, consideration, a common outlook, and mutual respect. Then the thought too of the waste of power in individualistic effort leads to a desire for federated action, with individual genius and energy subordinating itself to the common good, and whilst carefully guarding the development of its own special faculty opportunity and acquirement, at least feeling the need for co-operation in main lines of policy and action. All this, to my mind, on the lower ground of self-interest, leads to *federation by section*; and whilst each is a State, the whole becomes an Empire—an empire not of force, but of freedom, where each is for each and all for all.

And it is the Church of Jesus Christ which, in spite of its failures and its sins, has developed and taught and fostered this idea of federated freedom,

brotherhood, and service, the true "imperium" of mutual trust and love. Too often has it insulted its high ideals by deigning to wear the imperial mantle of earthly sovereignty—the imperialism of force; but all along the line of her history she has, in spite of herself, through the fecundity of God's grace, produced her witnesses and martyrs to the truth of the freedom of the human soul to live freely in a free commonwealth of service in that empire "whose banner over it is love."

Now, St. Paul's glowing Imperialism, and his burning Judaism, when transfigured by grace, just made him what we find him all through his after career, the great missionary statesman, pioneer, founder, apostle, evangelist, and traveller. All these he was, and pre-eminently the first and greatest of a long line of heroic leaders that has outlived every dynasty, visited every shore, lived and worked and died in every clime, learnt and formulated a hundred languages, created literatures, fostered science, taught the art of government by Synods, and sealed in a hundred lands the testimony of its faith, in the blood of martyrs. But above, and beyond, and including and inspiring St. Paul's great Apostolate, his all-embracing, far-reaching *statesmanship* gives him his unique position in the hierarchy of missionaries. His ardent love for Christ was much; his burning zeal for his religion was much; but it was that clear-cut vision of the eternal will that would "have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth," and his magnificent conception of the Roman Empire as the means appointed

in God's Providence for bringing the nations of the world to the feet of the crucified, that made his life so splendid an object-lesson in missionary work.

Without labouring this point any further in all its depth of suggestiveness and inspiration, surely every English or British, or Anglo-Saxon Churchman or woman, can apply the parable. Here in the British Empire is the extraordinary spectacle of a composite and even cosmopolitan race, self-evolved, yet practically rooted in the one universal, absolute religion of Jesus Christ, spreading itself over every quarter of the globe with little or no plan of campaign, by its seemingly mad spirit of adventure, its discoveries, its commerce, its conquests and its treaties; as Professor Seeley says, "waking up one morning and finding itself an empire." Its forms of government are, in principle, the acknowledged norm for all true progress and self-development; its language takes tribute of all languages; its literature, classical and periodical, crosses every meridian; its commerce and shipping equals the whole commerce and shipping of the rest of the world; its capital, London, is the financial centre of the financial world; and finally, the sacred books of its religion are translated into a hundred languages, and read and studied by millions as their only literature, with a strange and inspiring delight. And then the government and ritual, the ordered ranks of its ministry, and the stately worship and illuminating power of its *religion* lay hold, with an unearthly fascination, of prince and peasant, learned

and unlearned; and finally, both the rule of the empire and the sanctions of its religion develop and transfigure every legitimate political aspiration, and translate into a higher language, and captivate with a more heavenly music, "the thoughts and intents of the heart."

Now, in considering our responsibilities to the world, in seizing upon this imperial idea of St. Paul—shall I say, of Christ Himself—it is above all things absolutely necessary and vital that, as an American writer says, we should persistently "depolarise our ideas." The term, the phrase "Established Church of England," may mean much or nothing in connection with the proposed great "Pan-Anglican Congress." It may easily have a false or a true connotation, and no just pride in our lineage, or the grave and traditional courtesies of child to parent, should be allowed to force the view of parent or child in any way out of true focus, or cloud the true perspective. Let us be ever ready to correct our charts and to test our compass.

We are to gather together from the four quarters of the globe a congeries of free, self-governing Churches of the Apostolic Confession, striking their roots through all accidents of establishment, or dis-establishment, or non-establishment, drawing the form of their faith, the orders of their ministry, and the grace of their sacraments from the divine fountain of the Incarnate Christ. We are to meet on the first morning at the high altar of Westminster Abbey, with its historic glories and memorials, where sovereigns have been crowned from Saxon

times with all the pomp and majestic ritual befitting a great nation and a great tradition. The very Abbey itself—its constitution, statutes, and history—bears witness to the free genius of our English religion. It is, as far as I know, independent, legally, of diocesan authority—a corporation sole—and yet who can doubt its splendid loyalty and service to the Church of the empire. The very lines of its glorious architecture rising ever higher and higher into the mystery of its “groined roof and fretted gallery,” tell of the inherent aspirations of our “free” English religion, above and beyond the passing controversies of the moment.

On the last day of the Congress, we gather together under the great dome of St. Paul’s Cathedral—which may well be called the Cathedral of the Empire, in a final service of thanksgiving, and in a united act of thank-offering. Surely as we kneel in penitence and self-surrender, in the solemn stillness of the Abbey at the Eucharistic Feast, we cannot but feel representative, in however humble a way, of a great Imperial tradition and aspiration; and as the last *Te Deum* rolls onward and upward from under the dome of St. Paul’s before the great white throne, we shall drink in with Pentecostal thirst the Pentecostal inspiration to go forth and make “the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.” But afterwards!—after the confession of failure, after the vision of truth, after the renewed call, the self-surrender and fresh consecration!—we shall surely think of our humble but far-spreading African, Australian, Canadian dioceses with their

heterogeneous population of white folk, uprooted from the old world, and rooting themselves in new soil with new conditions, and through "peril, toil, and pain" coming on and forcing themselves to the surface, becoming self-conscious, and claiming an organic future among the nations of the world. We shall think of the various groupings of Mongols, Hindoos, Bantus, just opening their eyes to whole continents of possibilities for themselves, feeling faculties of body, mind, and spirit capable and responsive, and with a soul trembling to the birth into full light and freedom. We shall think of our "great spaces washed by sun" in Africa, and our illimitable reaches of virgin soil in Canada and Australia, with their ten, twenty, fifty square miles to each inhabitant: or we shall think of crowded and clamorous India, China, Japan, asserting themselves, racially, politically, commercially, and whilst claiming consideration, on equal terms, with the Western civilisations, inviting, asking, welcoming the best they have to offer in thought and movement. We shall think of the decay of the mere tribal instinct in the growth of national, racial ideas; and of an unconscious or subconscious sense, that true self-realisation can only come through union with the larger, fuller life of humanity. We shall bear witness that, at least in the Colonies, the ideal of an imperial Federation of free nations, with its twin imperative forces of mutual service and protection—each for each and all for all—can alone consider itself the unquestioned possessor of all past achievement, the fair purchaser of all present opportunity, and the heir of

all future possibility. And all this will react upon the view we have of our own position, our own calls and responsibilities.

The result, I venture to say, will be twofold—centripetal and centrifugal. The Church of England as “established” has, ever since the dreary Georgian era, been finding out that its life, its calls, its expansion have nothing to do with the accident of establishment; that *the moment it acted as if it were free, it found itself free*; that having lost golden opportunities both at home and abroad in the eighteenth century, through its stupid idolatry of a bad Erastian tradition and current “insular” superstition, it has, by God’s good grace, been enabled to “worry through somehow,” and after freeing the Bishop of London, *e.g.* from the jurisdiction of two-thirds of the world, and “establishing,” in the true sense of the word, a hundred self-governing Sees, finds itself growing every year, in spite of “lawyers and scribes” with their “opinions” and “precedents,” more and more self-governing and self-contained. Convocation with its three Houses of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity in each province, which when united form the National Synod of the “Ecclesia Anglicana” in England, with its right of free speech and of free aspiration and vision, asserting itself within the bounds of its freedom, will surely prove to itself and the nation that if, on the one hand, establishment is not necessary to the existence of a Church, on the other, it need be no hindrance to the manifold, “many-coloured” operations of the Spirit of God in the life of the nation itself. But more, far

more than this. As in the last years of our beloved Queen-Empress, England opened its eyes first in the presence of a great pageant, and then of a great peril, to the fact of Empire; so surely will the Church of England, with its three hundred Bishops drawn from all quarters of the Christian and heathen world—from Alaska to New Zealand, from the Falkland Isles to Japan—focus its historic imagination upon the wondrous vision, and realise itself and all the magic and the music of the spiritual claims of Empire as never before. The day, in my humble judgment, is past for apologies and self-conscious criticism of the "Anglican position." It is there, it has arrived, it lives, throbs, and aspires. It has not only found itself, but its sphere and its work.

"Not as some dreamer, who with curious hope
Upon his magic crystal bends his gaze,
Striving mid hidden things to peer and grope
And crush their secrets from the wayward days,
Till on a sudden on the nebulous glass,
He sees the drama of his future pass,
And quails before an ill-starred horoscope.

But rather as explorers let us go,
The glory of our sundawn in our eyes,
And seek no sign and fear no overthrow;
For fleeting years and age-long centuries,
Yea, time itself, are but the narrow sea
Washing the shoreway of Eternity,
AND BEYOND TIME OUR LAND OF PROMISE LIES."

What we need is what the Church of God always needs—to fill our sails, our "white wings"—in the

spiritual sphere, with the breath of the Spirit of God ; in the moral sphere with the strength and enthusiasm of moral conviction ; and, in the material sphere, with a positive and dynamic trust in the Church's constitution, with its ministry, its faith, and its Sacraments ; its legislative Synods as distinguished from a Congress merely formative of opinions ; its real and operative disciplinary system, as distinguished from merely casual advice ; and lastly, the defined but free place of the laity in its councils and in its ministry ; and all this with a view, and a clear view too, of the united though unfettered movement of the whole corporate body on spiritually imperial lines. In other words, we want an Anglican Communion, thrilled through and through with the imperial ideals of St. Paul ; its textbook, the Bible ; its mother and guide, the Church of all the ages ; its heir, all that will to come into it of "every nation, kingdom, people, and tongue."

Hitherto, so it seems to the writer, the Anglican Church has shown more of the defects than of the excellencies of its quality. Whilst witnessing to the Catholic, *i.e.* to the imperial, ideal, as I conceive it, of the New Testament, in its claims to self-government, self-expression, and in its independent attack on problems of Education, Civilisation, Native policies, the Liquor and Opium traffic and other moral and social questions, it has, in my judgment, been weak and ineffective through want of organic corporate action. Perhaps it has reflected a certain stand-offishness towards its own brethren,

and probably, I think, towards other religious bodies having the same moral, social, and political aims. In a sense, the Church of God must be political if it is to influence politics with its own ideals. But it can be political without being polemical, and it can surely join hands, even "hands across the sea," with every movement that makes for righteousness, and every aspiration that leads, by whatever road, to the final unity of the human race in Christ. We want less congregationalism everyway and everywhere; more leadership, sympathy, vision, and inclusiveness. Our centralizations must be not only intensive but also extensive in Councils, and Synods, whether Ecumenical, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Parochial. The Church, at any moment, should be able, by a telegram, to throw its whole moral and spiritual force upon its weakest position to strengthen it, and conversely to gather up its battalions for the great assault. If one may say it, we seem to need less sensitiveness and more sense, more moral grasp and grit, less touchiness and sentiment in meeting other bodies on equal terms of citizenship; and perhaps we might be more willing to leave the Grace of the Gospel to work in its own way, or rather in God's way towards Unity of Order, Belief, Life, and Work. We want a harmonious, not a monotonous unity; and that grows, like music, out of the soul of things and cannot be manufactured.

Think of the pathetic cry for ministrations of the fifty thousand annual immigrants into Canada — the almost more pathetic cry of the

millions of natives in Africa for the two magic powers they hope, they believe, will emancipate them from centuries of ignorance and witchcraft. Think again of the white man's need to keep his Christian civilisation, surrounded as he is in the dark continents and places of the earth by the calls of his own selfishness, the strength of his physical nature, and the temptation to feel that "there ain't no ten Commandments" where heathenism reigns. Remember, too, the natural attitude of the white man on his defence, so to speak, politically, socially, and industrially against the aspirations of the millions of black men around him in Africa and the Southern States of America; the seeming necessity of his being "on top" if, with ten to one against him, he is to exist at all. Surely all this suggests needs, aspirations, responsibilities, worthy of the best imperial ideals, worthy of the truest statesmanship in the Church of God; a statesmanship which has vision and which has faith; a statesmanship, too, which is sure of itself, which inspires hopes, creates ambitions, informs the mind, guides the will, and perfects the whole individual and social life from childhood to manhood, to perfect citizenship in the kingdom of God. May it not be, let me humbly say it, that the one message which the coming great Pan-Anglican Congress has for the Anglican Communion, and indeed for all Anglo-Saxon Christianity, may be summed up in words adapted from England's patriot-poet Blake of a hundred years ago :—

CHURCH AND EMPIRE

"Bring me my bow of burning gold ;
Bring me my arrows of desire ;
Bring me my spear ; O clouds unfold ;
Bring me my chariot of fire.

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
On every soil and every land."

THE END



File X3

XII-XVI (1)

3-20 (2)

216-40 (2)

BX 5600 .E47	11-19-45- Ellison Church and empire.
	1480728
JUL 23 1945	Quinn, California
SEP 1 6 1945	Los Angeles, Cal.
	2- 12578

2- 12578

HARPER STORAGE

BX 5600

E#7

1480728

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



48 452 526